

THE · NEW · HUDSON
SHAKESPEARE



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THE TRAGEDY OF King Richard the third.

Containing,
His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence :
the pittiefull murder of his iunocent nephewes :
his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course
of his detested life, and most deserued death.

As ithath been lately Acted by the
Right honourable the Lord Chamber-
laine his seruants.



AT LONDON
Printed by Valentine Sims , for Andrew Wise,
dwelling in Paules Church-yard , at the
Signe of the Angell.
1597.

WS

THE NEW HUDSON
SHAKESPEARE

WS

KING RICHARD THE THIRD

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
HENRY NORMAN
HUDSON, LL.D. &



EDITED AND REVISED BY
EBENEZER CHARLTON
BLACK LL.D. (GLASGOW)



GINN AND COMPANY
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PREFACE

The text of this edition of *King Richard the Third* is based on a collation of the First and Second Quartos, the seventeenth century Folios, the Globe edition, the Cambridge (W. A. Wright) edition of 1891, and that of Delius (1882). As compared with the text of the earlier editions of Hudson's Shakespeare, it is conservative. Exclusive of changes in spelling, punctuation, and stage directions, very few emendations by eighteenth century and nineteenth century editors have been adopted; and these, with the more important variations from the First Folio, are indicated in the textual notes. These notes are printed immediately below the text, so that a reader or student may see at a glance the evidence in the case of a disputed reading, and have some definite understanding of the reasons for those differences in the text of Shakespeare which frequently surprise and very often annoy. Such an arrangement should be of special help in the case of plays so universally read and frequently acted, as actors and interpreters seldom agree in adhering to one text. A consideration of the more poetical, or the more dramatically effective, of two variant readings will often lead to rich results in awakening a spirit of discriminating interpretation and in developing true creative criticism. In no sense is this a textual variorum edition. The variants given are only those of importance and high authority.

The spelling and the punctuation of the text are modern, except in the case of verb terminations in *-ed*, which, when the *e* is silent, are printed with the apostrophe in its place. This is the general usage in the First Folio. The important contractions in the First Folio which may indicate Elizabethan pronunciation ('i' th'' for 'in the,' 'slaught'red' for 'slaughter'd,' for example) are also followed. Modern spelling has to a certain extent been adopted in the text variants, but the original spelling has been retained wherever its peculiarities have been the basis for important textual criticism and emendation.

With the exception of the position of the textual variants, the plan of this edition is similar to that of the old Hudson Shakespeare. It is impossible to specify the various instances of revision and rearrangement in the matter of the Introduction and the interpretative notes, but the endeavor has been to retain all that gave the old edition its unique place and to add the results of what seems vital and permanent in later inquiry and research. In this edition, as in the volumes of the series already published, the chapters entitled Sources, Date of Composition, Early Editions, Versification and Diction, Dramatic Construction and Development with Analysis by Act and Scene, Duration of Action, Historical Connections with Genealogical Chart, and Stage History are wholly new. In this edition, too, is introduced a chronological chart, covering the important events of Shakespeare's life as man and as author, and indicating in parallel columns his relation to contemporary writers and events. As a guide to reading clubs and literary societies, there has been inserted a Table of the Distribution of Characters in the play, giving the acts and scenes in which each character appears and the

number of lines spoken by each. The index of words and phrases has been so arranged as to serve both as a glossary and as a guide to the more important grammatical differences between Elizabethan and modern English.

While it is important that the principle of *suum cuique* be attended to so far as is possible in matters of research and scholarship, it is becoming more and more difficult to give every man his own in Shakespearian annotation. The amount of material accumulated is so great that the identity-origin of much important comment and suggestion is either wholly lost or so crushed out of shape as to be beyond recognition. Instructive significance perhaps attaches to this in editing the works of one who quietly made so much of materials gathered by others. But the list of authorities given on page lv will indicate the chief source of much that has gone to enrich the value of this edition.

Especial acknowledgment is here made of the obligations to Dr. William Aldis Wright, whose work in the collation of Quartos, Folios, and the more important English and American editions of Shakespeare has been of so great value to all subsequent editors and investigators. The Index, Analysis by Act and Scene, Table of Distribution of Characters, and Stage History are by Grace A. Turkington, A. M., of the editorial staff of Ginn and Company, who has also done important work in revising the proofs of both text and notes.

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INTRODUCTION

NOTE. In citations from Shakespeare's plays and nondramatic poems the numbering has reference to the Globe edition, except in the case of this play, where the reference is to this edition.

I. SOURCES

Of Shakespeare's ten plays dealing directly with English history *King Richard the Third* is the one which is least definitely historical. It is significant that in both Quartos and Folios the fact that it is a tragedy rather than a history is emphasized on title-page and in running title. To a certain degree this is due to the special nature of the theme, which in general outline and in some interesting details crudely foreshadows that of *Macbeth*. It is the story of a tyrant who captured a throne by murdering all, young and old, who stood in his way, and then was hurled to death on the battlefield by an uprising of enraged subjects.

1. *Holinshed's Chronicles*. For the story material in *King Richard the Third*, as for that in all the English history plays and *Macbeth*, Shakespeare went to the *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, of Raphael Holinshed (Holynshed, Hollingshead, Hollinshead), first published in two folio volumes in 1577, and again in 1586-1587, "newlie augmented and continued."¹ It was doubtless this second edition

¹ In W. G. Boswell-Stone's *Shakspeare's Holinshed* are given all the portions of the *Chronicles* which are of special interest to the Shakespeare student.

which Shakespeare used, for he has repeated an error¹ due to a misprint which does not appear in the first edition.

2. *More's Richard the Third*. Holinshed based the part of his narrative reproduced in *King Richard the Third* on Sir Thomas More's *The History of King Richard the thirde*, published in 1557 by William Rastell (Rastall), a relative of More. There is at hand no evidence that Shakespeare went directly to More's work for any of his facts, yet it has "an interest of its own in connection with *Richard III*. For the materials used in compiling it were in all probability supplied to the writer by Cardinal Morton, in whose household More lived when he was a young man, and who appears in our play as Bishop of Ely. If we remember that Morton was a pronounced Lancastrian, and that he took an active part in the intrigues that preceded Richmond's invasion, we shall have little difficulty in understanding why tradition has painted Richard Crookback in such sombre colours." — Macdonald.

3. *Hall's Chronicle*. For some of his details Shakespeare drew from *The Union of the Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York*, by Edward Hall (Halle), published in 1542. But for the most part Shakespeare's indebtedness to Hall is indirect.

4. *Other Sources*. Among the plays on the subject of Richard the Third in existence at the time Shakespeare wrote his tragedy, two have been frequently mentioned in connection with his source material. These are the Latin play, *Ricardus Tertius*, and *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third*. The former was a chronicle play written by Dr. Thomas

¹ See note, V, iii, 324.

Legge for performance at the University of Cambridge (before 1583), and while this helped to create an interest in the traditional history of Richard, there is no reason to suppose that it was known to Shakespeare. The *True Tragedie* was printed in 1594 but had probably been written and acted much earlier. Diligent research has brought to light no evidence that Shakespeare had either read this play or seen it acted.

II. DATE OF COMPOSITION

The date of composition of *King Richard the Third* falls within 1597, the later time limit (*terminus ante quem*), and 1592, the earlier time limit (*terminus post quem*). The weight of evidence is in favor of 1592-1593.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

King Richard the Third is mentioned by Francis Meres in the *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury; being the Second Part of Wits Commonwealth*,¹ published in 1598. But the earliest direct evidence as to the time of composition is the entry in *The Stationers' Registers* which is under the date October 20, 1597. Although the title-page of the First Quarto states that the play had been "lately Acted by . . . the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants," this serves only to carry back the date of composition to 1596, since the company's patron, Lord Hunsdon, did not become Lord Chamberlain until April 17, 1597. Another link is furnished by

¹ Here Meres gives a list of twelve noteworthy Shakespeare plays in existence at that time, and refers to "*Richard the 2, Richard the 3, Henry the 4, King Iohn.*"

Weever's sonnet, "Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare," in which occurs a possible allusion to the play:

Romeo, Richard, more, whose names I know not,
Their sugared tongues, and power attractive beauty
Say they are saints, although that saints they show not,
For thousands vow to them subjective duty.

This sonnet was published in 1599 in a collection entitled *Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion*, but most of the sonnets were written at least as early as 1596. Although the Richard here referred to is presumably Richard the Third, this slender bit of evidence would not establish a date of authorship for the play earlier than 1595 or 1596.

It has been supposed that the anonymous drama, *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third*, published in 1594 and acted by "the Queenes Maiesties Players," was a play written much earlier and republished because of the popularity of Shakespeare's play. On the other hand, some critics have contended that the publication of the old play in 1594 was due to the enterprise of the publishers, who had learned that Shakespeare was preparing a play on the same subject. There is, after all, no indisputable external evidence supporting a date earlier than 1595-1596.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE

A careful study of the play itself, especially of the early Quartos, shows unmistakably that the author was in that stage of his literary development which produced the three parts of *King Henry the Sixth*. The diction of *King Richard the Third*, the quality of the blank verse, the proportion of rhyme, the rhetorical quality of the play as a whole, the

tendency to stichomythia in the dialogue,¹ with the prevalence of strained conceits, antitheses, and artificial terms of expression (see below, Versification and Diction), argue strongly for an earlier period of workmanship than that of *King Richard the Second*.

An important factor in determining the date of composition of *King Richard the Third* is the unmistakable evidence in the play of the influence of Marlowe, which is not felt in *King Richard the Second*. Gollancz admirably sums up what he calls the "noteworthy Marlowan characteristics" as follows: "(1) Richard, like Tamburlaine, or Faustus, or Barabas, monopolises the whole action of the Drama; (2) the characters of this play of passion seem intended, for the most part, merely to set off the hero's 'ideal villainy'; (3) the absence of evolution of character in the hero; (4) the hero's consciousness and avowal of his villainy; (5) the tone of the play is often lyrical or epical rather than dramatic (e.g. the lamentation of the women, II, ii; IV, i²); (6) blank verse is used throughout, while prose and the lyrical forms found in the earlier plays are conspicuously absent."

III. EARLY EDITIONS

QUARTOS

King Richard the Third was entered in *The Stationers' Registers* at London, October 20, 1597, and was published anonymously the same year with the title-page which is reproduced in facsimile as the frontispiece of this volume.

¹ See note, IV, iv, 211.

² See note, IV, iv, 1.

This is known as the First Quarto edition, referred to in the textual notes of this edition as Q_1 .

More editions of this play were printed before 1640 than of any other Shakespeare play. In 1598 the same text was issued again in quarto form with "By William Shake-speare" on the title-page. This is known as the Second Quarto, Q_2 . The Third Quarto, Q_3 (1602), the Fourth Quarto, Q_4 (1605), the Fifth Quarto, Q_5 (1612), the Sixth Quarto, Q_6 (1622), differ from each other only in unimportant details, each printing being based upon the preceding one. The Sixth Quarto, the title-page of which is given in facsimile on page xvii, is the rarest of all the Quartos, only one copy now being in existence. The Seventh Quarto, Q_7 (1629), was reprinted from Q_6 and not from the First Folio as might have been expected, while the Eighth Quarto, Q_8 (1634), is a mere reprint of Q_7 without a bookseller's name.

FOLIOS

King Richard the Third appeared in the First Folio, F_1 , published in 1623, with the title *The Tragedy of Richard the Third: with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the Battell at Bosworth Field*. It occupies pages 173 to 204 in the division of the book devoted to the 'Histories,' which are arranged in historical sequence from *The life and death of King Iohn* to *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth*. The First Folio is the famous volume in which all Shakespeare's collected plays (with the exception of *Pericles*, first printed in the Third Folio) were first given to the world. The text of the play as it appears in this edition differs widely from the Quarto readings, and is supposed to have been an independent version. More has

THE
TRAGEDIE
OF
KING RICHARD
THE THIRD.

Contayning his treacherous Plots against
his brother Clarence: The pittifull murder of his innocent
Nephewes: his tyrannicall Vfurpation: with the whole
course of his darested life, and most
deserved death.

As it hath been lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties
Servants.

Newly augmented.
By *William Shake-speare.*



LONDON,
Printed by *Thomas Purfoot*, and are to be sold by *Mathew Law*, dwelling
In *Pauls Church-yard*, at the Signe of the *Foxe*, neere
S. Austlines gate, 1622.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE, SIXTH QUARTO

been written on the authenticity of the different texts than in the case of any other Shakespeare play except *Hamlet*, and widely divergent conclusions as to the relative values of the First Quarto and the First Folio have been reached. Inasmuch as each of these texts has passages essential to the play, only an edition which is based on a careful collation of both could in any sense be truly representative of Shakespeare.

The Second Folio, F₂ (1632), the Third Folio, F₃ (1663, 1664), and the Fourth Folio, F₄ (1685), show few variants in the text, and none of importance.

ROWE'S EDITIONS

The first critical editor of Shakespeare's plays was Nicholas Rowe, poet laureate to George I. His first edition was issued in 1709 in six octavo volumes. In this edition Rowe, an experienced playwright, marked the entrances and exits of the characters and introduced many stage directions. He also introduced the list of dramatis personæ which has been made the basis for all later lists. A second edition in eight volumes was published in 1714. Rowe followed very closely the text of the Fourth Folio, but modernized spelling, punctuation, and occasionally grammar.

IV. VERSIFICATION AND DICTION

The workmanship of *King Richard the Third*, with the exception of certain scenes and passages, is greatly inferior to that of Shakespeare's later plays. In many places there is an overstudied roundness of diction and regularity of movement; the persons often deliver themselves too much in

the style of set speeches; there is at times an artificial and bookish tang in the dialogue, and in every scene are strains of elaborate jingle made by using the same word in different senses. This all suggests that Shakespeare at this time wrote more from what he had read in books, or heard at the theatre, than from what his quick and apprehensive ear had caught of the unwritten drama of actual and possible men. It is hard to believe that the author of *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* could at any time have written such lines as those in V, iii, 182-195, which are made up of the forced conceits and affectations with which the plays and novels of that time were filled.

On the whole, in *King Richard the Third* Shakespeare is struggling and vibrating between the native impulses of his genius and the force of custom and example. It stands to reason that he could not have reached his own heights of art without first practicing in the ways already approved. And this would naturally hold much more in tragedy than in comedy, for the elements of comedy had been playing freely about his boyhood and mingling in his earliest observations. Tragedy, on the other hand, must have been to him a much more artificial thing, and he would need both a larger measure and a stronger faculty of observation and experience, before he could find the elements of it in nature. In proportion as he lacked the power to grasp and wield the forces of tragedy, he would in his first efforts be mainly governed by what stood before him. It is only natural that his earlier comedies are so much more Shakespearian in style and spirit and characterization than the tragedies of the same period.

BLANK VERSE

The greater part of *King Richard the Third* is in blank verse¹ — the unrhymed, iambic five-stress (decasyllabic) verse, or iambic pentameter, introduced into England from Italy by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, about 1540, and used by him in a translation of the second and fourth books of Vergil's *Æneid*. Nicholas Grimald (*Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557) employed the measure for the first time in English original poetry, and its roots began to strike deep into British soil and absorb substance. It is peculiarly significant that Sackville and Norton should have used it as the measure of *Gorboduc*, the first English tragedy (performed by "the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple" on January 18, 1561, and first printed in 1565). About the time when Shakespeare arrived in London the infinite possibilities of blank verse as a vehicle for dramatic poetry and passion were being shown by Kyd, and above all by Marlowe. Blank verse as used by Shakespeare is really an epitome of the development of the measure in connection with the English drama. In his earlier plays the blank verse is often similar to that of *Gorboduc*. The tendency is to adhere to the syllable-counting principle, to make the line the unit, the sentence and phrase coinciding with the line (end-stopped verse), and to use five perfect iambic feet to the line. In plays of the middle period, such as *The Merchant of Venice* and *As You Like It*,

¹ The term 'blank verse' was just coming into use in Shakespeare's day. It seems to have been used for the first time in literature in Nash's Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, where we find the expression, "the swelling bumbast of bragging blanke verse." Shakespeare uses the expression three times, always humorously or satirically.

written between 1596 and 1600, the blank verse is more like that of Kyd and Marlowe, with less monotonous regularity in the structure and an increasing tendency to carry on the sense from one line to another without a syntactical or rhetorical pause at the end of the line (run-on verse, *enjambement*). Redundant syllables now abound, and the melody is richer and fuller. In Shakespeare's later plays the blank verse breaks away from bondage to formal line limits, and sweeps all along with it in freedom, power, and organic unity.

In the 3374 lines of blank verse in *King Richard the Third* are found stress modifications of all kinds. There are 570 feminine (or double) endings and 4 light endings. In *King Richard the Third* are no weak endings. Light endings and weak endings¹ are found most abundantly in Shakespeare's very latest plays.

ALEXANDRINES

While French prosodists apply the term 'Alexandrine' only to a twelve-syllable line with the pause after the sixth syllable, it is generally used in English to designate iambic six-stress verse, or iambic hexameter. This was a favorite Elizabethan measure, and it was common in moral plays and the earlier heroic drama. English literature has no finer examples of this verse than the last line of each stanza of *The Faerie Queene*. In *King Richard the Third* are about 16 Alexandrines.

¹ Light endings, as defined by Ingram, are such words as *am, can, do, has, I, thou*, etc., on which "the voice can to a certain small extent dwell"; weak endings are words like *and, for, from, if, in, of, or*, which "we are forced to run . . . into the closest connection with the opening words of the succeeding line."

RHYME

A progress from more to less rhyme in the regular dialogue is a sure index to Shakespeare's development as a dramatist and a master of expression. In the early *Love's Labour's Lost* are more than 1000 rhyming five-stress iambic lines; in *King Richard the Second* are more than 500; in the very late *The Winter's Tale* there is not one.¹

King Richard the Third shows the influence of Marlowe (whose infrequent use of rhyme is noteworthy) in that it has only about 170 lines of rhyming verse. Here the rhyme, though not used with complete consistency, is employed (1) to mark the close of speeches and scenes, as in I, i, 161-162; IV, iv, 194-195; (2) to point an epigram, as in IV, iv, 15-16; and (3) to aid in expressing strong emotion, as in IV, iv, 209-210.

PROSE

In the development of the English drama the use of prose as a vehicle of expression entitled to equal rights with verse was due to Lyly. He was the first to use prose with power and distinction in original plays, and did memorable service in preparing the way for Shakespeare's achievement. Interesting attempts have been made to explain Shakespeare's distinctive use of verse and prose; and of recent years there has been much discussion of the question "whether we are justified in supposing that Shakespeare was guided by any fixed principle in his employment of verse and prose, or whether he merely employed them, as fancy suggested, for

¹ The Chorus speech introducing Act IV is excepted as not part of the regular dialogue.

the sake of variety and relief.”¹ In many of his earlier plays there is little or no prose, and the proportion of prose to blank verse increases with the decrease of rhyme. In *King Richard the Third* are only about 50 prose lines, and these are spoken by the murderers. It is interesting to note that in this early play Shakespeare anticipates what in his maturity became his usual practice of making the characters of low life speak prose.

V. DRAMATIC CONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

The character of Richard is the key to the dramatic structure of the play. The form and scope of his individuality is such that other men's cannot stand in subordination to it, but must crush it, or fly from it, or be absorbed into it; and the moment any one goes to showing himself other than an organ of Richard's will, there is a virtual declaration of war between them, and the issue must hang on a trial of strength or of stratagem. Properly speaking there is no interaction between Richard and the other persons of the drama. He is the all-in-all of every scene. What differentiates the play from Shakespeare's other dramas is that the entire action, in all its parts and stages — so far, at least, as it has any human origin and purpose — not only springs from the hero as its source but finds in him its end. The result is

¹ Professor J. Churton Collins, *Shakespeare as a Prose Writer*. See Delius, *Die Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen* (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, V, 227-273); Janssen, *Die Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen*; Professor Hiram Corson, *An Introduction to the Study of Shakespeare*, pages 83-98.

that the play is not so much a composition of coöperative characters, mutually developing and developed, as the prolonged yet hurried outcome of a single character, to which the other persons serve but as exponents and conductors. The Richard of the play, like a volume of electricity, discloses himself by means of others, and quenches their active powers in the very process of doing so. The most considerable exception to this is Queen Margaret, whose individuality asserts itself face to face with Richard's, her passionate impulse wrestling evenly with his deliberate purpose, and her ferocious temper being provoked to larger and hotter eruptions by all attempts at restraint or intimidation.¹

Both tragedy and comedy deal with a conflict between an individual force (which may be centered either in one character or in a group of characters acting as one) and envioning circumstances. In tragedy the individual (one person or a group) is overwhelmed; in comedy the individual triumphs. In tragedy, as in comedy, five stages may be noted in the plot development: (1) the exposition, or introduction; (2) the complication, rising action, or growth; (3) the climax, crisis, or turning point; (4) the resolution, falling action, or consequence; and (5) the dénouement, catastrophe,² or conclusion. Let it not be thought for a moment that each of these stages is clearly differentiated. As a rule they pass insensibly into each other, as they do in life.

¹ Yet "we only see this wild, half-maniacal, old woman impotently cursing, or triumphing in the just retribution of a too-patient Providence, but playing no active part in bringing about that retribution." — Marshall.

² "*Catastrophe* — the change or revolution which produces the conclusion or final event of a dramatic piece." — Johnson.

ANALYSIS BY ACT AND SCENE¹

I. THE EXPOSITION, OR INTRODUCTION (TYING OF THE KNOT)

Act I, Scene i. In the soliloquy with which the play opens Gloucester (Richard the Third) reveals the baseness of his nature and the means by which he expects to achieve his ambition. His soliloquy not only shows the character of the complication but suggests the action, for already his mind is scheming to have Clarence and Edward put out of the way that he may marry Lady Anne. The almost precipitous fashion in which this scene gives the audience an idea of the audacious schemes of Richard makes an atmosphere charged with disaster. More than is consistent with the rules of dramatic art, the audience is made to share the author's knowledge of impending events. In the last lines, however, Richard's words suggest that much lies between his plans and their execution, the implication being that succeeding scenes will unfold still other plots:

But yet I run before my horse to market :
Clarence still breathes ; Edward still lives and reigns :
When they are gone, then must I count my gains.

II. THE COMPLICATION, RISING ACTION, OR GROWTH (TYING OF THE KNOT)

Act I, Scene ii. When Richard confronts Lady Anne as she follows the coffin of King Henry, the dramatic complication is begun. Little by little Anne yields to the stronger will, and at last shows her complete surrender by letting fall the sword with which she might have taken Richard's life. So brazen is Richard's wooing that it has required all the skill of the dramatist so to fashion his speech that the audience could be led to forget the hero's effrontery in a realization of his tremendous power. Both this scene and that which opens the play end with strong soliloquies by the protagonist.

¹ "It must be understood that a play can be analyzed into very different schemes of plot. It must not be thought that one of these schemes is right and the rest wrong; but the schemes will be better or worse in proportion as — while of course representing correctly the facts of the play — they bring out more or less of what ministers to our sense of design." — MAULTON.

Act I, Scene iii. This scene takes up many threads of the larger scheme of Shakespeare's series of historical plays. Queen Margaret, Queen Elizabeth and her children, Hastings, Buckingham, and Richard all are seen as puppets in the drama of retribution which is being enacted slowly but tremendously in the Wars of the Roses. This scene also serves to introduce these characters for the minor parts which they are to play in the life and death of Richard.

Act I, Scene iv. Again the dramatic purpose of the series of historical plays is made strangely vivid to the audience. In the murder of Clarence by Richard's hirelings, not only is the complication of the drama of Richard's life tightened but the certain progress of retribution in the affairs of men and nations is revealed. Clarence, whose own hands are stained with blood, gives up his life to those whose bloody deeds win them their livelihood. Subtly Shakespeare so weaves the scene that the audience feels it is only a matter of time when Richard also must pay the penalty for his crimes. That which intensifies the villainy of Richard is the remorse that stays the knife of one of the murderers, for such a feeling at no time finds a place in Richard's heart.

Act II, Scene i. In Elizabeth's request that Clarence be freed, and in Richard's answer (lines 78-79) —

Who knows not that the gentle duke is dead?
You do him injury who scorn his corse —

Richard's skill in villainy is shown to be no greater than his quickness to turn suspicion upon others. Thus the complication grows and the action is forwarded.

Act II, Scene ii. Here is one of the many instances where Shakespeare makes effective dramatic use of children as foils to their scheming elders. The intrigue gathers additional force through the boldness with which Richard confronts the queen upon her husband's death, then hastens to Ludlow where the Prince is detained. In the conversation between Buckingham and Richard, the audience is made aware that already the death of the queen's kinsmen is being plotted.

Act II, Scene iii. This short scene serves to present a contrast to the schemes within schemes which are a part of the daily life of

nobles and rulers. The brief glimpse of 'the people' not only relieves the tension of tragedy already accomplished and tragedy to come but prepares the way for the falling action when Richard shall be finally routed. Over the whole scene is an atmosphere of foreboding and gloom.

Act II, Scene iv. In the arrest of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan the dastardly plans of Richard are being carried out and the action is forwarded.

Act III, Scene i. A dramatic contrast is effected by means of the conversation between the young Prince, who has come to London to await his coronation, and the scheming Buckingham and Richard. The courage and keenness of the boy are the more compelling because they are matched against the cunning and villainy of his elders. In the 'asides' of Richard and in his suggestion that the two Princes remain in the Tower for a few days, the impending tragedy is anticipated. The audience is aroused to a high pitch of emotional suspense, for at every point the part which the boys play in the drama is such as to arouse the fullest sympathy. The suspense is relieved somewhat by the further planning of Buckingham, Catesby, and Richard as to the exact means by which Richard shall gain the throne.

Act III, Scene ii. In contrast to the hardened character of Richard, in which no elements of weakness are discovered, Hastings is here revealed as both weak and wicked. His conceit and overconfidence in his own strength prove to be the real cause of his ultimate failure, and something of this phase of the complication is now made known to the audience. The subtlety and hypocrisy of Catesby are recognized as characteristic of a tool of Richard, for these qualities seem successfully to dominate, either directly or indirectly, the lives of all who cross Richard's path.

Act III, Scene iii. This short scene forecasts the fate of Richard, for as Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan go to their death they are reminded of Margaret's curses and that she cursed not only them but Hastings, Buckingham, and Richard as well (lines 17-19):

Then curs'd she Richard, then curs'd she Buckingham,
Then curs'd she Hastings. O, remember, God,
To hear her prayers for them, as now for us!

Act III, Scene iv. Again Hastings is seen to be so wrapped about in his self-confidence that he perceives nothing of the danger that threatens him. The audience, still under the spell of dread at the fate awaiting the young Prince, scarcely realizes what the lines of this scene portend until the words "Off with his head!" show with what swiftness the action, marked by a series of murders, proceeds.

Act III, Scene v. The action halts only to allow Richard the opportunity to explain the necessity for Hastings's death; but there is little in his words to win the sympathy of the audience, which has already been alienated by the insanity of his ambition. In Richard's intention "to draw the brats of Clarence out of sight" another phase of the complication earlier anticipated comes more clearly into view.

Act III, Scene vi. The piling up of murder on murder and plot on plot in preceding scenes has been almost beyond the power of an audience to comprehend. This short scene of fourteen lines helps to give that relief to pent-up emotion which the commonplace always affords, and provides an interval for Buckingham's Guildhall speech in behalf of Richard's aspirations to the throne.

Act III, Scene vii. Since all the action of the drama revolves about Richard, it is not strange that this scene should be given to depicting Richard the dissembler. When he adds to his long list of crimes that of feigning deep piety and religious humility, the feelings of the audience are so outraged that they almost demand the hastening of Richard's fate; yet both audience and dramatis personæ are for a moment carried out of their hatred by the enthusiasm aroused by the cry "Long live Richard, England's royal king!" Each succeeding event shows that Richard will stop at nothing to gain his end, and thus the complication is gradually tightened.

Act II, Scene i. The meeting of Queen Elizabeth, the Duchess of Gloucester, the Duchess of York, Anne, and Lady Margaret serves to heighten the aspect of tragedy. These minor characters are used only to show how futile are piety and affection when in conflict with the unscrupulous ambition of a man like Richard.

III. THE CLIMAX, CRISIS, OR TURNING POINT (THE KNOT TIED)

Act IV, Scene ii, lines 1-26. In Richard's admitted desire for the death of his two young nephews, which brings the first show of

reluctance on the part of Buckingham to act the easy tool of villainy, the climax is reached. For the first time since Richard's over-reaching ambition was revealed, a definite suggestion is given that an end to his evil deeds is inevitable.

IV. THE RESOLUTION, FALLING ACTION, OR CONSEQUENCE (THE UNTYING OF THE KNOT)

Act IV, Scene ii, lines 27-124, iii. The falling action, begun in Buckingham's alienation from Richard, is continued in the fleeing of Ely to Richmond and in the rebellion of Buckingham at the head of a force of hardy Welshmen.

Act IV, Scene iv. Tantalizing, although dramatic, is the helplessness of Margaret, Elizabeth, and the Duchess of York to shape in any measure their own destinies. But the curses which they pronounce upon Richard in his presence sound the knell of his final defeat. The falling action continues, yet Richard's expressed determination to wed Elizabeth's daughter shows that the growing complication has had no effect on his iron will. His success in forcing Elizabeth to do his bidding is offset in some degree by the news that Richmond is now "on the seas" and a menace to Richard's throne. In the one short sentence, "I will not trust you, sir," spoken by Richard to Stanley, we have the first bit of evidence of a real fear on the part of Richard as to his ultimate success. When he strikes a messenger who he hastily assumes is bringing ill tidings, the audience realizes the disintegration of his powers and the rapid course of the falling action. Up to this point, Richard has dealt with others wholly through his powerful intellect. His use of petty force to vent his displeasure shows how disturbing are the voices within him.

Act IV, Scene v. The difficult part that Stanley had to play in the intrigues of the time reminds the audience of the bigger, broader drama of English history. In helping to bring about the espousal of Elizabeth's daughter to Richard, Stanley seems to be strangely constant in his allegiance to the king.

Act V, Scene i. The execution of Buckingham halts the falling action and for a moment makes the audience wonder if retribution will after all fail to reach Richard.

Act V, Scene ii. The appearance of Richmond as one of the dramatis personæ is the preamble to the final catastrophe.

Act V, Scene iii. Richard and Richmond, each at the head of an armed force, confront each other ready for battle. By the device of a ghost scene, wherein the spirits of the victims of Richard's ambition appear to him, the final catastrophe is approached. The cry that is wrung from Richard in lines 200-201 —

I shall despair. There is no creature loves me;
And, if I die, no soul will pity me —

finds no answering sympathy in the hearts of the audience. Most effective as a bit of drama is this picturing of the pitiless, unimaginative Richard confounded by the ghosts of a dream.

V. DÉNOUEMENT, CATASTROPHE, OR CONCLUSION (THE KNOT UNTIED)

Act V, Scenes iv and v. In Richard's frantic cry "A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!" is sounded the defeat of the king and his forces. It is in keeping with Shakespeare's treatment throughout that Richard should be killed on the stage. In the final words of the victor, we are again reminded of the part that this drama plays in the bigger drama of English history:

We will unite the white rose and the red.
Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction,
That long have frown'd upon their enmity!
.
.
.
Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again;
That she may long live here, God say amen!

VI. DURATION OF ACTION

1. *Historic Time.* A period of a little more than fourteen years, from the burial of Henry VI.¹ May, 1471, to the

¹ P. A. Daniel calls attention (*New Shakspeare Society Transactions*, 1877-1879, page 325) to the close connection, in point of dramatic time, of *King Richard the Third* and the third part of *King Henry the Sixth*: "The connection . . . is singularly elastic: not a single day intervenes, yet years must be supposed to have elapsed. The murder of Henry VI is but two days old."

battle of Bosworth Field, August 22, 1485, is covered by this play.

2. *Dramatic Time.* As represented on the stage the time of the play is from eleven to twelve days, with intervals the length of which it seems impossible and unnecessary to determine with exactness.

The following is P. A. Daniel's time analysis :¹

Day 1. — I, i, ii.

Interval.

Day 2. — I, iii, iv ; II, i, ii.

Day 3. — II, iii.

Interval.

Day 4. — II, iv.

Day 5. — III, i.

Day 6. — III, ii-vii.

Day 7. — IV, i.

Day 8. — IV, ii-v.

Interval.

Day 9. — V, i.

Interval.

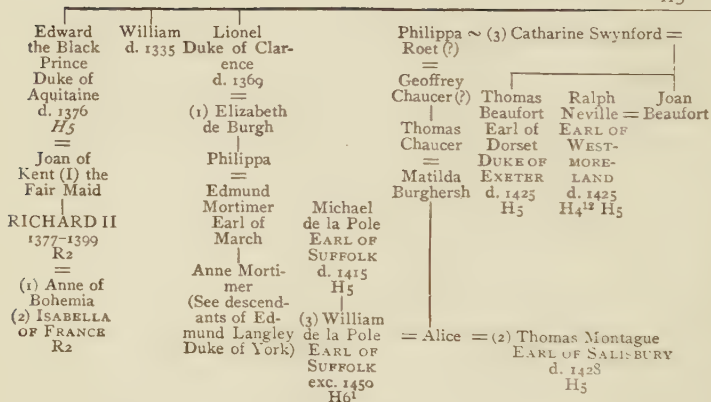
Day 10. — V, ii, and first half of iii.

Day 11. — V, last half of iii, iv, v.

VII. HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS

The genealogical tables given on pages xxxii-xxxiii indicate the inter-relation of the more important historical characters in *King Richard the Third*, and show in what other plays of Shakespeare they, their ancestors, or their descendants, either are mentioned or appear as dramatis personæ.

¹ *New Shakspeare Society Transactions*, 1877-1879, pages 325-337.



Charles de la Bret
CONSTABLE OF FRANCE
k.A. 1415
H₅

SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS IN THE TABLES

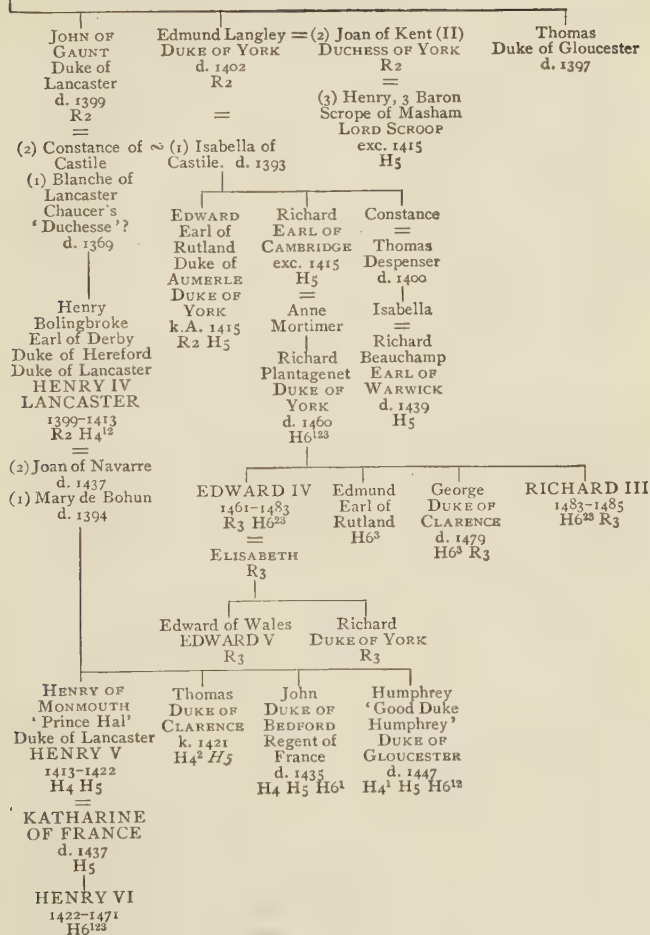
	= direct descent from
=	= married to
~	= brother or sister
↗	= brother or sister of the half blood
d.	= died
exc.	= executed
k.	= killed
k.A.	= killed at Agincourt
R ₂	= one of the dramatic personæ in <i>Richard II</i>
R ₃	= do. <i>Richard III</i>
H ₄ ¹	= do. <i>1 Henry IV</i>
H ₄ ²	= do. <i>2 Henry IV</i>
H ₆ ¹	= do. <i>1 Henry VI</i>
H ₆ ²	= do. <i>2 Henry VI</i>
H ₆ ³	= do. <i>3 Henry VI</i>
H ₅	= do. <i>Henry V</i>
K.J.	= do. <i>King John</i>

Italics indicate that the person is only mentioned in the play. Numerals in parentheses before a name indicate a first, second, or third marriage. Numerals after a king's name indicate the dates of his reign.

(2) Owen Tudor =
Edmund Tudor
Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond
HENRY VII TUDOR
1485-1509
H₆³ R₃

CONNECTIONS

= Philippa of Hainault
d. 1369



VIII. THE CHARACTERS

RICHARD

In *King Richard the Third* we have the unfolding of the hero's character as already formed, the processes of its formation being set forth in the second and third parts of *King Henry the Sixth*. In this case, as in sundry others, Shakespeare suggests, at the outset, the pivot on which the character mainly turns. When we first meet with Richard in the earlier plays Clifford taunts him :

Hence, heap of wrath, foul indigested lump,
As crooked in thy manners as thy shape !

[*2 Henry VI*, V, i, 157-158]

Richard's personal deformity is regarded not only as proceeding from a certain original malignity of soul but also as aggravating that malignity. His ill-looks invite reproach, and reproach quickens his malice. Because men hate to look on him, he craves all the more to be looked on. Thus experience generates in him an inordinate lust of power, while the circumstantial impossibility of coming at this save by crime turns him to such a course of intellectual training and practice as may enable him to commit crimes and still avoid the natural consequences.

His extreme vanity results in a morbid sensitiveness to any sign of neglect or scorn. As taunts and scoffs are a form of power which he feels most keenly, he therefore grows fond of using them to make his power felt, even as evil men naturally desire to vent upon others the causes and instruments of their own sufferings. Hence the bitterly sarcastic humor which Richard indulges so freely, and with such prodigious effect. Of course his sensitiveness is keenest where his

vanity is most thwarted and wounded. He thinks of nothing so much as the ugliness that balks his desire, and resents nothing so sharply as the opinion or feeling it arrays against him. Accordingly his first and heaviest shots of sarcasm are at those who twit him on that score; thus in the scene where the Lancastrian Prince of Wales is killed Richard seems unmoved till the Prince taunts him, when his wrath takes fire at once and bursts out in the reply, "By heaven, brat, I'll plague ye for that word" (3 *Henry VI*, V, v, 27).

Richard descants on his own deformity because it is the sorest spot in his condition. He even becomes intent on making it the source of a dearer gratification than any it deprives him of — the consciousness of such mental powers as can bear him onward and upward in spite of those disadvantages. Thus his sense of personal disgrace begets a most hateful and malignant form of pride — the pride of intellectual force and mastery. Hence he comes to glory in the matter of his shame, to exaggerate it, and hang over it, as serving to magnify his strength and fertility of wit. He seems to say, Nature indeed made me the reproach and scorn of men, nevertheless I have made myself their wonder and applause; and though my body be such that men cannot bear the sight of me, yet I have managed to charm their eyes.

On much the same principle, he develops to the highest pitch his consciousness also of moral deformities. So far from palliating his wickedness to himself, or skulking behind subterfuges, he rather makes love to it, and exults in spreading it out and turning it around before his inward eye, as if he were charmed with the sight. To succeed by wrong, to rise by crime, to grow great by inverting the moral order of things, is to him the highest proof of genius and skill. The

worse he sees himself to be, the higher he stands in his own esteem. This aspect of the man is fully borne out by such a soliloquy as the following :

Well, say there is no kingdom then for Richard ;
 What other pleasure can the world afford ?
 I'll make my heaven in a lady's lap,
 And deck my body in gay ornaments,
 And witch sweet ladies with my words and looks.
 O miserable thought ! and more unlikely
 Than to accomplish twenty golden crowns !
 Why, love forswore me in my mother's womb :
 And, for I should not deal in her soft laws,
 She did corrupt frail nature with some bribe,
 To shrink mine arm up like a wither'd shrub ;
 To make an envious mountain on my back,
 Where sits deformity to mock my body ;
 To shape my legs of an unequal size ;
 To disproportion me in every part.

Then, since this earth affords no joy to me,
 But to command, to check, to o'erbear such
 As are of better person than myself,
 I'll make my heaven to dream upon the crown,
 And, whiles I live, to account this world but hell,
 Until my mis-shaped trunk that bears this head
 Be round impaled with a glorious crown.

Why, I can smile, and murder whiles I smile,
 And cry ' Content ' to that which grieves my heart,
 And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
 And frame my face to all occasions.

I can add colours to the chameleon,
 Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,
 And set the murderous Machiavel to school.

[3 *Henry VI*, III, ii, 146-193]

The constant presence and ever-shifting forms of danger have trained Richard into a consummate master of the arts of dissembling and simulation; he can counterfeit brusqueness, meekness, innocence, humility, sorrow, anger, indignation, artlessness, and piety; and can play the blusterer, the wag, the boon companion, the penitent, the lover, the devotee, the hot partisan, the hearty friend, the cool adviser, and the passionate avenger; each in turn, or several of them together, as the occasion prompts, or the end requires.

The moral complexion of Shakespeare's Richard was mainly taken from the historians, but his intellectual proportions are greater than those accorded him by history. To have set forth such a moral characterization in dramatic form, with only his actual endowment of mind, would scarcely counteract the horror of his crimes. Such a measure of depravity, stripped of the disguise which it necessarily keeps up in real life, might indeed be valuable as truth, but would hardly do as poetry. The method of history is to please because it instructs; of art, to instruct because it pleases. No man ever understood this better than Shakespeare. Nor, perhaps, is his understanding anywhere better shown than in *King Richard the Third*. The lines of Richard's wickedness as traced in history are somewhat deepened in the play, and its features are charged with boisterous life, making a fearful picture, and such as, without counterbalancing attractions, would shock and revolt the beholder. As dealt with by Shakespeare, Richard's intellectuality is so idealized as to relieve the impression of his moral deformity. Richard may be all villain, but the hateful in his character is so balanced by the admirable that we are more than reconciled to his company, though nowise reconciled to his crimes.

His skill in villainy is well illustrated in his wooing of Lady Anne, where the rays of his character are all gathered, as it were, into a focus. Whatever may have been the facts in the case, it is certain that Richard was at the time generally believed by the Lancastrians to have had a hand in the murder of both Henry VI and his son Edward. It is also certain that within two years after their death Richard was married to Edward's widow, who must in all reason be supposed to have shared in the common belief of her party. They revered the king as a martyr, and his tomb as the abode of miraculous efficacies, for which cause Richard had his bones removed to a more secluded place. Richard's chief motive to the marriage probably was that he might have a share in the immense estates of Anne's father, Richard Neville, the great Earl of Warwick, known in history as "the king-maker," and in Shakespeare as "the setter up and plucker down of kings" (3 *Henry VI*, II, iii, 37).

Richard begins and ends his courtship of the lady over the very coffin of the royal saint whose death she is mourning, and whom he is supposed to have murdered. Yet his triumph seems to result not so much from any special vice or defect in her as from his witchcraft of tongue and wit. It should be remembered in her behalf that his art succeeds equally in beguiling King Edward, Clarence, Hastings, Buckingham, and others. His towering audacity, which, springing from entire confidence in his powers, prevails in part by the very boldness of its attempts; his flexibility and suppleness of thought, turning himself indifferently to all occasions; his perfect self-possession and presence of mind, never at a loss for a shift, nor betrayed into a misstep, nor surprised into a pause; his wily dissimulation, and more wily

frankness, silencing her charges by pleading guilty to them, parrying her blows by inviting them, disarming her hatred by owning its justice; his simulating deep contrition for past misdeeds, and the inspiration of her virtue and beauty as the cause of it — such are the parts of the sly, subtle, unfearing, remorseless Richard that are unfolded in his courtship of Lady Anne. The scene is indeed far from being the best, or even among the best, in the play, but it combines a remarkable variety of characteristic points, and happily exemplifies Shakespeare's method of diverting attention from the offensiveness of Richard's acts by the entertainment of his gifts. In these respects, we have a later repetition of the scene, when he triumphs, or seems to triumph, over the fears and scruples of Elizabeth.

Richard's irresistible arts of insinuation, by which he can at once, and almost in the same breath, create terrors and sweeten them away, is well shown in the brief scene with Ratcliff and Catesby, when he is preparing to meet the invading Richmond (IV, iv, 444-454). Here, by the bland apology implied in "O, true, good Catesby," which drops so easily that it seems to spring fresh from his heart, he instantly charms away the sting of his former words, and we feel that the bond between them is closer than ever. His kingly dignity is not a whit impaired — it is even heightened by the act — partly from his graciousness of manner, and partly from his quick art in arraying the apology in a sort of transparent disguise.

It should be observed that Richard, with all his inborn malignity, does not hate those whom he sends to death or ruin. They stand between him and his purpose; and he has "neither pity, love, nor fear," in getting them out of the way.

His malice wantons in biting taunts and caustic irony ; he revels in teasing and galling others with bitter mocks and jerks ; but he is too self-repressive and too politic to let his malice show itself in gratuitous cruelties. A reign of terror planted and upheld by a guillotine of malicious wit is as far as his ambition and sagacity will permit him to go in that direction. Shakespeare could never have conceived of the English people as tolerating even for a day a reign of terror founded on a guillotine of steel. Richard is prudent enough to restrain his innate virulence from attempting so suicidal a course as that. His thought seizes with amazing quickness and sureness where and when and how to cut. It is as if such an excess of life and energy had been rammed into his little body as to strain and bulge it out of shape.

That Richard is a villain who, instead of endeavoring in any way to hide from his crimes, rather fondles and caresses them as food of intellectual pride, is Coleridge's view : "Pride of intellect is the characteristic of Richard carried to the extent of even boasting to his own mind of his villainy. Shakespeare here develops, in a tone of sublime morality, the dreadful consequences of placing the moral in subordination to the mere intellectual being."¹ In this respect, Richard transcends Shakespeare's other crime heroes, Iago and Edmund, who, with all their steeping in hell-venom, are still unable to look their hellish purposes steadily in the face, and seek refuge in certain imaginary wrongs which it is the part of manhood to revenge either on particular persons or on society at large.

It is plain that such a man as Richard must either cease to be himself, or else must be himself alone. Isolation, virtual

¹ See *Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare*.

or actual, is the necessary condition of his life. One of his character, without his position, would have to find solitude; Richard, by his position, has the alternative of creating it. His individuality can endure no partner. There is no sharing anything with him, even in unequal portions.

Richard is a skillful dissembler, but is not all hypocrite: his courage and his self-control at least are genuine, and his strength of will is exerted even more in repressing his own nature than in oppressing others. Here it is, perhaps, that we have the most admirable feature of the delineation. Such a vigor of self-command—the central force of all great characters—seldom fails to captivate the judgment, or to inspire something like respect; and when carried to such a height as in Richard, it naturally touches common people with wonder and awe. Richard strongly resembles Lady Macbeth in doing absolute violence to his nature by outwrestling the powers of conscience. In his waking moments he never betrays, except in one instance, any sense of guilt, any pangs of remorse. But, as in the case of Lady Macbeth, his strength of will is evidently overstrained in keeping down the insurgent moral forces of his being. This part of his nature asserts itself in his sleep, when his powers of self-repression are suspended. Then his involuntary forces rise in insurrection against the despotism of his will. In his speech to the army near the close, he describes conscience as “a word that cowards use, devis’d at first to keep the strong in awe” (V, iii, 309–310); and this well shows how hard he strives to hide from others, and even from himself, the workings of that inward force. But the dreams which infest his pillow and plague his slumbers, and which are disclosed to us by Lady Anne, are a conclusive record of the torturing

thoughts that have long been harrowing his soul, and of the extreme violence his nature has suffered from the tyranny of will in repressing all outward signs of the work of conscience. That his conscience in sleep should thus rouse itself and act the fury in his soul, to avenge the wrongs of his terrible self-despotism when awake — this more than anything else vindicates his partnership in humanity, and keeps him within the circle of our human sympathies.

Richard's inexorable tenacity of purpose and his overbearing self-mastery have their strongest display in the catastrophe. He makes his death serve the end for which he has lived. He may even be said to compel his own death, when a higher power than man's has cut off all other means of honour and triumph. Although Shakespeare here followed English history, in the prerogatives of his art he found a way which history knows not of to satisfy the moral feelings. Inaccessible to earthly strokes, this dreadful impunity is recompensed in the agonies of an inward hell; and our sense of justice reaps a stern satisfaction in the retributions which are rendered vocal by the ghosts that haunt his sleeping moments.

The effect of this vision is best told by Richard himself, when he starts from his couch in an ecstasy of fright:

Give me another horse! bind up my wounds!
Have mercy, Jesu! — Soft! I did but dream.
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!
The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight.
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

.
My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.

I shall despair. There is no creature loves me;
And, if I die, no soul shall pity me.

RATCLIFF. My lord!

RICHARD. Who's there?

RATCLIFF. My lord, 't is I. The early village-cock
Hath twice done salutation to the morn;
Your friends are up, and buckle on their armour.

RICHARD. O Ratcliff, I have dream'd a fearful dream.
What thinkest thou? will our friends prove all true?

RATCLIFF. No doubt, my lord.

RICHARD. O Ratcliff, I fear, I fear!

RATCLIFF. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.

RICHARD. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers
Armed in proof and led by shallow Richmond.

[V, iii, 177-219]

Richard's intense, feverish activity of mind and body when he is awake springs in part from the gnawings of conscience. He endeavors, or rather is impelled, to stifle or lose the sense of guilt in a high-pressure stress of thought and work. For thus the smothered pangs of remorse often act as potent stimulants or irritants of the intellect and will, the remorse within burning the fiercer for being repressed, and so heating the brain into restless, convulsive activity. In this way, the very consciousness of crime may have the effect of plunging the subject into further crimes.

It is through the secret working of this power that Henry's prophecy touching Richmond, and also the fortune-teller's prediction which made the hero start on seeing the castle at Exeter, and hearing it called Rougemont, stick so fast in his memory, and sit so heavy on his soul through the

closing struggle. As Gervinus says, "he who in his realistic free-thinking was fain to deny all higher powers, and by his hypocrisy to deceive even Heaven itself, succumbs at last to their inevitable stroke."

MARGARET

The introduction of Margaret in this play has no formal warrant in history. After the battle of Tewksbury, in 1471, she was confined in the Tower till 1475, when, being ransomed by her father, she went into France, and died there in 1482. The part she takes in these scenes is dramatic fiction throughout, but a most judicious piece of fiction. Her character, like Richard's, has its growth and shaping in the earlier plays. Much has been said by critics about Shakespeare's Lancastrian prejudices as manifested in this series of plays. One may well be curious to know whether those prejudices are to be held responsible for the portrait he gives of Margaret, in whom we find nearly all the worst vices of her time. The character, however lifelike and striking in its effect, is colored much beyond what sober history warrants. She is a bold, ferocious, and tempestuous woman, devoid alike of delicacy, of dignity, and of discretion, and all the bad passions out of which might be engendered the madness of civil war seem to flock and hover about her. Her speech and action, however, impart a wonderful vigor to the scenes in which she moves; and perhaps it was only by exaggerating her into a sort of representative character that the processes of that long national conflict could be developed in a poetic or dramatic form. Her penetrating intellect and unrestrainable volubility disclose the motives and principles of the combatant factions.

We may regard her as, in some sort, an ideal concentration of that murderous ecstasy which seized upon the nation. But it should be observed that popular tradition, sprung from the reports of Margaret's enemies, and cherished by patriotic feeling, had greatly overdrawn the wickedness of Margaret.

The dramatic character of Margaret, whether at court or in the field, is sustained at the same high pitch through all the plays in which she figures. Afflictions only open in her new founts of embitterment. Her speech is ever teeming with the sharp answer that engenders wrath, and out of every wound issues the virulence that is sure to provoke another blow.

In *King Richard the Third*, Margaret's condition is vastly different from that in the earlier plays, but her character remains the same. She is here stripped of arms and instruments, so that her thoughts can no longer work out in acts. But, for this very cause, her Amazonian energies concentrate themselves so much the more in her speech, and her eloquence, while retaining all its strength and fluency, burns the deeper since it is the only organ of her mind that she has left. In brief, she is still the same high-grown, wide-branching tree, now rendered leafless and therefore all the fitter for the blasts of heaven to howl and whistle through. Long suffering has deepened her fierceness into sublimity. At once vindictive and broken-hearted, she is a most impressive blending of the terrible and the pathetic. Walpole¹ remarks that in this play Shakespeare "seems to deduce the woes of the House of York from the curses which Queen Margaret had vented against them." The truth is, Margaret's curses do but proclaim the great principle of

¹ Horace Walpole (1717-1797), *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third*.

moral retribution, and perhaps the only way her former character could be carried on into these scenes was by making her seek indemnity for her woes in ringing changes upon the woes of others. She is a sort of wailing or ululating chorus to the thick-thronging butcheries and agonies that wind their course through the play. A great, brave, fearful woman indeed, made sacred by all the anguishes that a wife and a mother can know!

MINOR CHARACTERS

Of the other characters in this play probably little need be said. Hastings and Buckingham neither get nor deserve pity from us. They have done all they could to nurse and prepare the human tiger that finally hunts them to death. Their thorough steeping in the wickedness of the times, and their reckless participation, either by act or by sympathy, in Richard's slaughters, mark them out as worthy victims.

STANLEY

Stanley gauges the hero rightly from the first, penetrates his closest designs, and then adroitly fathers the results of his own insight on some current superstition of omens or dreams. Without sharing in any of Richard's crimes or defiling his hands at all with blood, he turns Richard's weapons against him, and fairly beats him at his own game. His relationship to Richmond naturally marks him out for suspicion. He forecasts this from afar, and with a kind of honest knavery so shapes his course that he can easily parry or dodge or quiet the suspicion when it comes. With clean purposes, he dissembles them as completely as Richard does

his foul designs. He is in secret correspondence with Richmond all along, yet carries it so that no suggestion of it gets abroad. His art takes on the garb of perfect frankness, candor, and simplicity, which is art indeed. He counsels Dorset to speed his flight to Richmond, gives him letters, then goes straight to Richard, and tells him Dorset has fled. He is also the first to inform Richard that "Richmond is on the seas," and that "he makes for England, here to claim the crown" (IV, iv, 469). By this timely speaking of what is true, but what he would naturally be least expected to disclose, he makes a passage for the full-grown deceit which he is presently forced to use. But he justly holds it a work of honesty to deceive such an arch-deceiver in such a cause. His patriotism and rectitude of purpose are amply shown when the crisis comes, in his staking what is dearest to him for the deliverance of his country from the tyrant. This was a good beginning for the noble and illustrious House of Stanley, which has in all ages since stood true alike to loyalty and liberty.

LADY ANNE

The parts of Lady Anne, Elizabeth, the Duchess of York, and the two young Princes, are skilfully managed so as to diversify and relieve what would otherwise be a prolonged monotony of atrocious wickedness and intellectualism. The change from the society of such consummate hypocrisies and villainies to that of heartrending sorrow is a distinct relief.

Lady Anne's seeming levity in yielding to the flatteries of the wooing homicide is readily forgiven in the sore burden of grief which it entails upon her, in her subdued

gentleness to other destined victims, and in the sad resignation with which she forecasts the bitterness of her brief future. Her nature is felt to be all too soft to stand against the crafty and merciless tormentor into whose hand she has given herself.

ELIZABETH

Elizabeth is prudent, motherly, and pitiful, but by no means lacking in strength and spirit. Stanley, Margaret, and the Duchess excepted, she is the only person in the play who reads correctly the hero's character. From the slaughter of her kindred at Pomfret, her instinctive feminine sagacity gathers at once the whole scheme of what is coming, and anticipates the utter ruin of her House. But she is so enmeshed by intriguing arts, and, what is still worse, so beset with the friendly assurances of minds less penetrating than hers, that all her defences prove of no avail. It was both wise and kind in Shakespeare to represent her so untuned to the language of imprecation, that she has to call on one so eloquent in curses as Margaret to do her cursing for her. In the scene where Richard sues so persistently for her daughter's hand, it appears somewhat uncertain whether she is really beguiled and won by his wizard rhetoric, or whether she only temporizes, and feigns a reluctant acquiescence, thus at last fairly outwitting him. Since her daughter's hand is already firmly pledged to Richmond, and she is in the whole secret of the plot for seating him on the throne, it seems to be an instance of that profound yet innocent and almost unconscious guile which women are apt to use in defence of those they love, and which so often proves an overmatch for all the resources of deliberate craft.

THE PRINCES

The two Princes are admirably discriminated. The elder is inquisitive, thoughtful, cautious in his words, hardly knowing whether or not to fear his uncle, and, with a fine instinctive tact, veiling his doubt under ambiguities. The younger is pert, precocious, and clever, and prattles out his keen childish wit, in perfect freedom from apprehension, and quite innocent of the stings it carries. Their guileless intelligence and sweet trustfulness of disposition make a capital foil to the subtlety and virulent intellectuality of Richard.

IX. STAGE HISTORY

The centering of the action in one person goes far toward explaining the great and lasting popularity of this play on the stage. It is a hero play, and there being no one to share with the hero in the action and interest, the drama is all the better for theatrical starring. Naturally most of the great actors have been eager to appear in it, and play-goers to see them in it. Besides, the hero is himself essentially an actor, though an actor of many parts, sometimes acting one after another, and sometimes several of them together. The fact that much of his character is assumed, and carried through as a matter of art, probably makes it somewhat easier for another to assume it.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Unfortunately there is little definite information as to the stage history of *King Richard the Third* from the time of its publication up to 1630. That the play was acted before its publication is indicated by the title-page of the First Quarto, where the statement is made, "as it hath beene lately Acted."

Of contemporary allusions, that found in Corbet's *Iter Boreale* (1618), which identifies Burbage¹ with the part of Richard the Third, is perhaps the best known. In rhyming iambic pentameter couplets Corbet recounts a journey past Bosworth Field, which caused his traveling companion to recall the acting of Burbage:

Why, he [Corbet's companion] could tell
 The inch where Richmond stood, where Richard fell:
 Besides what of his knowledge he could say,
 He had authenticke notice from the Play:
 Which I might guesse. . . .
 But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing,
 Where he mistooke a player for a king.
 For when he would have sayd, King Richard dyed,
 And call'd — A horse! a horse! — he Burbidge cry'de.²

The first reference to a definite performance of the play is a brief mention in the diary of Sir Henry Herbert under the date 1633: "Richarde the Thirde was acted by the K. players at St. James, where the king and queene were present, it being the first play the queene sawe since her M.^{tys} delivery of the Duke of York."

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the eighteenth century the only version of *King Richard the Third* known to play-goers was Colley Cibber's *The Tragical History of King Richard III alter'd from Shakespear*. This was much shorter than the original, the result of excluding many of the dramatis personæ, even so important

¹ Richard Burbage (Burbige, Burbadge) was the famous actor of the company to which Shakespeare belonged.

² As quoted in *The Henry Irving Shakespeare*, Volume III, page 10.

a dramatic figure as Queen Margaret being omitted. But Cibber was not content with using the blue pencil; he added much new matter and made changes with strange recklessness. He seemed to feel that without such revision at his hands the text must fail to drive into the consciousness of the audience the enormity of Richard's crimes. So he borrowed from the third part of *King Henry the Sixth* the murder of the King and showed Richard gloating over the details as he listens to the murderers who plan the Prince's violent death. As Macdonald points out, in Cibber's hands "the drama becomes a mere common story of revolting wickedness and well-merited retribution."

Garrick, Sheridan, and Kemble are among the celebrated actors of the eighteenth century who appeared in the play, and strange to say, in Cibber's version. Garrick's first appearance at Goodman's Fields was as Richard the Third. The play-bill announcing this first performance of Garrick is interesting: "October 19, 1741, . . . At the Theatre in Goodman's Fields, this day will be performed, | A CONCERT OF VOCAL & INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, | DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS, | N. B. Between the Two Parts of the Concert will be presented an Historical Play, called the | *Life and Death of KING RICHARD THE THIRD*. | Containing the distresses of K. Henry VI. | The artful acquisition of the Crown by King Richard, | The Murder of Young King Edward V, and his Brother in the Tower, | The landing of the Earl of Richmond, | And the Death of King Richard in the memorable Battle of Bosworth Field, being the last that was fought between the Houses | of York and Lancaster; with many other true Historical Passages. | The Part of King Richard by A GENTLEMAN, | (who never appeared on any stage) . . ."

By a curious coincidence Mrs. Siddons's first appearance in *King Richard the Third* was at Drury Lane in the same year, 1776, that Garrick acted Richard for the last time.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the early part of the nineteenth century the noteworthy performances were those of John and Charles Kemble, Edmund Kean, and Macready. "Richard III was one of Kean's most popular impersonations; but it may be doubted whether his greatest qualities were so forcibly displayed in this character as in Othello, Hamlet, or Lear. Like everything he did, Kean's conception of the character was essentially original and carefully thought out; all the finest portions of it were those in which Shakespeare's poetry had been untouched by the deforming hand of Cibber. It seems that in his first season at Drury Lane, 1813-1814, Kean acted the part twenty-five times, and in his next season at the same theatre also twenty-five times: the only other play of Shakespeare he played as often in that season being *Macbeth*." — Marshall.

The part of Richard was regarded as Edmund Kean's masterpiece, more wonderful even than his interpretation of Shylock so often referred to by contemporary critics as the most impressive impersonation the English stage had ever known. In the part of Richard the natural disadvantages of Kean's small figure and harsh voice were turned to splendid account. "Joyous and sarcastic in the opening soliloquy; devilish as he passed his bright sword through the still breathing body of Lancaster; audaciously hypocritical, and almost too exulting, in the wooing of Lady Anne; cruelly kind to the young Princes, his eye smiling while his foot

seemed restless to crush the two spiders that so vexed his heart: in representing all this there was an originality and a nature which were entirely new to the delighted audience. Then they seemed to behold altogether a new man revealed to them, in the first words uttered by him from the throne,—‘Stand all apart!’—from which period to the last struggle with Richmond there was an uninterrupted succession of beauties. . . . The triumph was accumulative, and it was crowned by the tent scene, the battle, and the death . . . In the faint yet deadly-meant passes which he made with his swordless arm after he had received his death-blow, there was the conception of a great artist; and there died with him a malignity which mortal man had never before so terribly portrayed.” —Doran.¹

Not until 1877 was the original play placed upon the stage, this restoration being due to Sir Henry Irving, whose first performance was given January 29 at the Lyceum Theatre. Unanimous approval greeted the reappearance of the play in its original form.

Irving never offered Richard in America, but during the nineteenth century such English actors as Cooke and Charles Kean appeared in the title rôle in this country. Of the American actors who have starred in the play, Edwin Booth won lasting fame. He first acted the part of Richard in San Francisco in 1852, using Cibber’s version, but later he made an adaptation of his own with few alterations of Shakespeare’s original. His interpretation of Richard has probably never been surpassed on the stage, he alone of the many notable actors of the part realizing completely the intellectual power of Shakespeare’s hero.

¹ *Annals of the English Stage*, Volume III, pages 380-381.

AUTHORITIES

(With the more important abbreviations used in the notes)

- Q₁ = First Quarto, 1597.
 Q₂ = Second Quarto, 1598.
 Q₃ = Third Quarto, 1602.
 Q₄ = Fourth Quarto, 1605.
 Q₅ = Fifth Quarto, 1612.
 Qq = all the Quartos.
 F₁ = First Folio, 1623.
 F₂ = Second Folio, 1632.
 F₃ = Third Folio, 1663, 1664.
 F₄ = Fourth Folio, 1685.
 Ff = all the seventeenth century Folios.
 Rowe = Rowe's editions, 1709, 1714.
 Pope = Pope's editions, 1723, 1728.
 Theobald = Theobald's editions, 1733, 1740.
 Hanmer = Hanmer's edition, 1744.
 Johnson = Johnson's edition, 1765.
 Capell = Capell's edition, 1768.
 Malone = Malone's edition, 1790.
 Steevens = Steevens's edition, 1793.
 Globe = Globe edition (Clark and Wright), 1864.
 Dyce = Dyce's (third) edition, 1875.
 Delius = Delius's (fifth) edition, 1882.
 Camb = Cambridge (third) edition (W. A. Wright), 1891.
 Clar = Clarendon Press edition (W. A. Wright).
 Herford = C. H. Herford's Eversley edition.
 Abbott = E. A. Abbott's *A Shakespearian Grammar*.
 Bradley = A. C. Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1904.
 Cotgrave = Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, 1611.
 Schmidt = Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*.
 Skeat = Skeat's *An Etymological Dictionary*.
 Murray = *A New English Dictionary* (*The Oxford Dictionary*).
 Holinshed = Holinshed's *Chronicles* (second edition), 1586-1587.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

Except in the case of Shakespeare's plays (see note) the literature dates refer to first publication

YEAR	SHAKESPEARE		HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
	BIOGRAPHY: POEMS	PLAYS	
1564	Birth. Baptism, April 26, Stratford-on-Avon	NOTE. The plays in the columns below are arranged in the probable, though purely conjectural, order of composition. Dates appended to plays are those of first publication. Where no date is given, the play was first published in the First Folio (1623). M signifies that the play was mentioned by Meres in the <i>Palladis Tamia</i> (1598)	BRITISH AND FOREIGN LITERATURE Quart livre de Pantagruel Sackville and Norton's <i>Gorboduc</i> printed Udall's <i>Roister Doister</i> printed? The Bishops' Bible. La Taille's <i>Saülle Furieux</i>. R. Grafton's <i>Chronicle</i> Camoens' <i>Os Lusíadas</i> (The Lusíads) Tasso's <i>Aminta</i> <i>Mirror for Magistrates</i> (third edition) Gammer Gurton's Needle. Golding's <i>Ovid</i> (complete) The Paradise of Dainty Devices. Gascoigne's <i>Steel Glass</i> Holinshed's <i>Chronicles</i>
1565	Father became alderman		Michelangelo died. Calvin died. Marlowe born. Galileo born Philip II of Spain gave his name to Philippine Islands
1566	Brother Gilbert born		Murder of Rizzio
1568	Father, as bailiff of Stratford, entertained Queen's and Earl of Worcester's actors		Mary of Scots a prisoner in England. Ascham died. Coverdale died. Netherlands War of Liberation
1572			Knox died. Massacre of St. Bartholomew
1573			Ben Jonson born? Donne born
1574	Brother Richard born		Earl of Leicester's players licensed
1575			Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth. Palissy lectured on Natural History
1576			"The Theatre" opened in Finsbury Fields, London, followed by "The Curtain." Hans Sachs died
1577	Father in financial difficulties		Drake sailed to circumnavigate globe

1579	Sister Ann died (aged eight)
1580	Brother Edmund born
1581	
1582	Married Anne Hathaway
1583	Daughter Susanna born
1584	
1585	Twin children (Hamnet, Judith) born
1586	Probably went to London
1587	
1588	
1589	
1590	
1591	

Gosson's School of Abuse. North's Plutarch. Lyly's Euphuës (pt. 1). Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar	Union of Utrecht. Tasso put in confinement at Ferrara
Montaigne's Essais (first edition)	Brown founded Separatists. Camoens died
Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata	Dutch Declaration of Independence
The Rheims New Testament	Accademia della Crusca founded
Garnier's Les Juives	Sir Humphrey Gilbert drowned
Lyly's Campaspe. Peele's Arraignment of Paris	William the Silent assassinated. Ivan the Terrible died
Guarini's Pastor Fido (1590)	Ronsard died
Camden's Britannia	Sir Philip Sidney killed
Hakluyt's Four Voyages. Faustbuch (Spiess, Frankfurt)	Execution of Mary of Scots
Martin Marprelate: The Epistle	Defeat of Spanish Armada
Puttenham's Art of English Poesie	Henry of Navarre, King of France. Palissy died in Bastille
Marlowe's Tamburlaine. Spenser's Faerie Queene, I-III. Lodge's Rosalynde. Sidney's Arcadia	Battle of Ivry
Sidney's Astrophel and Stella. Harington's tr. of Orlando Furioso	Herrick born

TRAGEDIES

HISTORIES

COMEDIES

Love's Labour's Lost (M, 1598)

Comedy of Errors (M)

1 Henry VI
2 Henry VI

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART (CONTINUED)

YEAR	SHAKESPEARE			BRITISH AND FOREIGN LITERATURE	HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
	BIOGRAPHY; POEMS	PLAYS (see note above)			
1592	Greene's attack in Groat'sworth of Wit	Two Gentlemen of Verona (M)	Richard III (M, 1597). 3 Henry VI	Daniel's Delia. Lyly's Gallathea (Galatea)	Greene died. Montaigne died. London theatres closed through plague
1593	Venus and Adonis (seven editions, 1593-1602)		King John (M). Richard II (M, 1597)	Peele's Edward I. Barnes's Sonnets	Marlowe died. Herbert born
1594	Lucrece (five editions, 1594-1616)	A Midsummer Night's Dream (M, 1600)		Kinuccini's Dafne. Satiire Ménipee	Palestrina ("Princeps Musicæ") died
1595	Valuable contemporary references to Shakespeare	All's Well that Ends Well. Taming of the Shrew		Peele's Old Wives' Tale. Spenser's Epithalamion	Tasso died. Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Guiana. Sir J. Hawkins died
1596	Son Hamnet died. Famously applied for coat-of-arms		1 Henry IV (M, 1598). 2 Henry IV (1600)	Drayton's Mortimeriad. Faerie Queene, Books IV-VI	Burbage built Blackfriar's Theatre. Desportes born. Sir F. Drake died
1597	Purchased New Place, Stratford	Merry Wives of Windsor. Merchant of Venice (M, 1600)		Bacon's Essays (first edition). Hall's Virgildemiarium	The Tyrone rebellion
1598	Shakespeare acted in Jonson's Every Man in His Humour	Much Ado About Nothing (1600)	Henry V (1600)	Meres's Palladis Tamia. Chapman's Homer (pt. 1). Lope de Vega's Arcadia	Peele died. Edict of Nantes
1599	Part proprietor of Globe Theatre. Coat-of-arms granted. The Passionate Pilgrim	As You Like It		Aleman's Guzman de Alfarache. Peele's David and Bethsabe	Spenser died. Globe Theatre built. Oliver Cromwell born
1600	Won a London lawsuit	Twelfth Night		England's Helicon	Calderon born. Bruno died

1601	Father died. The Phoenix and Turtle			Julius Cæsar	Jonson's Poetaster	The Essex plot. Rivalry between London adult and boy actors
1602	Purchased more Stratford real estate			Hamlet (1603)	Dekker's Satiromastix	Bodleian Library founded
1603	His company acted before the Queen	Troilus and Cressida (1609)			Jonson's Sejanus	Queen Elizabeth died. Millenary Petition
1604	Sued Rogers at Stratford	Measure for Measure		Othello	Marlowe's Faustus (1588-1589)	Hampton Court Conference
1605	Godfather to William D'Avenant			Macbeth	Don Quixote (pt. 1)	Gunpowder plot. Sir Thomas Browne born
1606	King Lear given before Court			King Lear (1608)	Chapman's Monsieur D'Olive	Lyly died. Corneille born
1607	Daughter Susanna married Dr. Hall			Timon of Athens	Dekker and Webster's Westward Ho!	Settlement of Jamestown
1608	Birth of granddaughter, Elizabeth Hall. Death of mother (Mary Arden)	Pericles (1609)		Antony and Cleopatra	Captain John Smith's A True Relation. Middleton's A Mad World	Milton born. Quebec founded
1609	Sonnets. A Lover's Complaint			Coriolanus	The Douai Old Testament	Separatists (Pilgrims) in Leyden
1610	Purchased more real estate	Cymbeline			Strachey's Wracke and Redemption	Henry IV (Navarre) assassinated
1611	Subscribed for better highways	Winter's Tale The Tempest			King James Bible (A.V.). Bellarmine's Puissance du Pape	Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden
1613	Invested in London house property. Brother Richard died		Henry VIII		Drayton's Polyolbion	Globe Theatre burned
1616	Made his will. Daughter Judith married Thomas Quiney. Died April 23 (May 3, New Style)				Captain John Smith's New England. Folio edition of Jonson's Poems. D'Aubigné's Les Tragiques (1577)	Cervantes died. Beaumont died. Baffin explores Baffin's Bay. Harvey lectured on the circulation of the blood

DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERS

In this analysis are shown the acts and scenes in which the characters (see *Dramatis Personæ*, page 2) appear, with the number of speeches and lines given to each.

NOTE. Parts of lines are counted as whole lines.

		NO. OF SPEECHES	NO. OF LINES			NO. OF SPEECHES	NO. OF LINES
KING EDWARD	II, i	11	64	ELY	III, iv	6	7
PRINCE EDWARD	III, i	18	43	BUCKINGHAM	I, iii	8	12
YORK	II, iv	6	16		II, i	4	12
	III, i	15	23		II, ii	3	24
		21	39		III, i	16	58
CLARENCE	I, i	7	22		III, ii	3	7
	I, iv	25	142		III, iv	5	12
		32	164		III, v	9	27
GLOUCESTER (RICHARD III)	I, i	16	125		III, vii	20	156
	I, ii	44	154		IV, ii	19	29
	I, iii	30	125		V, i	3	27
	II, i	5	40			90	364
	II, ii	5	19	NORFOLK	V, iii	8	10
	III, i	26	56	SURREY	V, iii	1	1
	III, iv	8	32	RIVERS	I, iii	14	19
	III, v	13	69		II, i	2	3
	III, vii	15	73		II, ii	3	12
	IV, ii	29	83		III, iii	4	17
	IV, iii	6	26			23	51
	IV, iv	73	198	DORSET	I, iii	3	3
	V, iii	28	154		II, i	2	4
	V, iv	2	6		II, ii	1	7
		300	1160		IV, i	1	1
BOY	II, ii	10	22			7	15
RICHMOND	V, ii	2	19	GREY	I, iii	3	6
	V, iii	8	85		III, iii	2	4
	V, v	4	32			5	10
		14	136	OXFORD	V, ii	1	2
CARDINAL	III, i	2	9				
ARCHBISHOP	II, iv	5	12				

DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERS

ixi

		NO. OF SPEECHES	NO. OF LINES			NO. OF SPEECHES	NO. OF LINES
HASTINGS	I, i	5	10	BRAKENBURY	I, i	4	8
	I, iii	3	5		I, ii	9	25
	II, i	3	3		IV, i	3	6
	II, ii	1	1			16	39
	III, i	2	6	URSWICK	IV, v	2	8
	III, ii	22	70				
	III, iv	10	49	GENTLEMEN	I, ii	2	2
		46	144				
STANLEY	I, iii	3	8	MAYOR	III, i	1	1
	II, i	3	5		III, v	3	11
	III, ii	3	13		III, vii	5	5
	III, iv	11	8			9	17
	IV, i	3	11	SHERIFF	V, i	2	2
	IV, ii	1	3				
	IV, iv	10	17				
	IV, v	3	12	ELIZABETH	I, iii	17	50
	V, iii	2	21		II, i	3	7
	V, v	3	9		II, ii	6	21
		42	107		II, iv	8	15
LOVEL	II, iv	1	1		IV, i	10	32
	III, v	1	2		IV, iv	54	149
		2	3		98	274	
VAUGHAN	III, iii	1	1	MARGARET	I, iii	23	124
					IV, iv	10	94
	33	218					
RATCLIFF	III, iii	3	3	DUCHESS OF YORK	II, ii	12	44
	III, iv	1	2		II, iv	11	26
	IV, iv	3	10		IV, i	11	16
	V, iii	11	15		IV, iv	17	54
		18	30		51	140	
CATESBY	I, iii	1	2	ANNE	I, ii	42	118
	III, i	4	5		IV, i	8	39
	III, ii	8	16			50	157
	III, vii	5	14	GIRL	II, ii	6	8
	IV, ii	2	2				
	IV, iii	2	4				
	IV, iv	4	8	1 GHOST	V, iii	1	6
	V, iii	3	4				
	V, iv	2	7	2 GHOST	V, iii	1	7
		31	62				
TYRREL	IV, ii	6	8	3 GHOST	V, iii	1	8
	IV, iii	4	29				
		10	37				
BLUNT	V, ii	1	2	4 GHOST	V, iii	2	4
	V, iii	2	6				
		3	8				
HERBERT	V, ii	1	1	5 GHOST	V, iii	2	3
				6 GHOST	V, iii	2	4
				7 GHOST	V, iii	1	5

		NO. OF SPEECHES	NO. OF LINES			NO. OF SPEECHES	NO. OF LINES
8 GHOST	V, iii	1	8	2 MURDERER	I, iv	29	56
9 GHOST	V, iii	1	8	KEEPER	I, iv	6	8
10 GHOST	V, iii	1	8	1 MESSENGER	II, iv	5	9
11 GHOST	V, iii	1	10		III, ii	6	15
LORDS	V, iii	3	3		IV, iv	1	5
					V, iii	1	1
						13	30
PURSUIVANT	III, ii	3	3	2 MESSENGER	IV, iv	1	3
SCRIVENER	III, vi	1	14	3 MESSENGER	IV, iv	3	7
1 CITIZEN	II, iii	7	8	4 MESSENGER	IV, iv	1	10
2 CITIZEN	II, iii	6	13	PRIEST	III, ii	1	1
3 CITIZEN	II, iii	9	28	ANOTHER	III, vii	1	1
1 MURDERER	I, iii	3	7				
	I, iv	37	63	PAGE	IV, ii	3	6
		40	70				

THE TRAGEDY OF
KING RICHARD THE THIRD

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹

KING EDWARD the Fourth²

EDWARD, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward V, RICHARD, Duke of York,	}	sons to the King
---	---	---------------------

GEORGE, Duke of Clarence, RICHARD, Duke of Gloucester, ³ afterwards King Richard III,	}	brothers to the King
--	---	----------------------------

A young son of Clarence
HENRY, Earl of Richmond, afterwards King Henry VII

CARDINAL BOURCHIER, Archbishop of Canterbury

THOMAS ROTHERHAM, Archbishop of York

JOHN MORTON, Bishop of Ely

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

DUKE OF NORFOLK

EARL OF SURREY, his son

EARL RIVERS, brother to Elizabeth

MARQUIS OF DORSET and LORD GREY, sons to Elizabeth

EARL OF OXFORD

LORD HASTINGS

LORD STANLEY, called also
EARL OF DERBY

LORD LOVEL

SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN

SIR RICHARD RATCLIFF

SIR WILLIAM CATESBY

SIR JAMES TYRREL

SIR JAMES BLUNT

SIR WALTER HERBERT

SIR ROBERT BRAKENBURY, Lieutenant of the Tower

CHRISTOPHER URSWICK, a priest.
Another Priest

TRESSEL and BERKELEY, gentlemen attending on the Lady Anne

Lord Mayor of London

Sheriff of Wiltshire

ELIZABETH, queen to King Edward IV

MARGARET, widow of King Henry VI

DUCHESS OF YORK, mother to King Edward IV

LADY ANNE, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, son to King Henry VI; afterwards married to Richard

A young Daughter of Clarence
(MARGARET PLANTAGENET)

Ghosts of those murdered by Richard III, Lords and other Attendants; a Pursuivant, Scrivener, Citizens, Murderers, Messengers, Soldiers, &c.

SCENE: *England*

¹ Rowe was the first to give a list of Dramatis Personæ. Rowe's list was very imperfect and has been corrected by later editors.

² Notes on the historical relations of the Dramatis Personæ are given either in the Introduction (Historical Connections) or when each character is introduced into the play.

³ GLOUCESTER Pronounced 'Glos'ter.' The Folios spell the name 'Glos-ter,' 'Glouster,' etc. In the First Quarto the common spelling is 'Glocester.'

ACT I

SCENE I. [*London. A street*]

Enter RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, *solus*

GLOUCESTER. Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York ;
And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths ; 5
Our bruised arms hung up for monuments ;
Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front ;
And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds 10
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
But I, that am not shap'd for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass ; 15

2. sun Rowe | sonne Qq | Son Ff.

ACT I. SCENE I. In the Folios, not in the Quartos, the play is divided into acts and scenes, which are given with Latin nomenclature. The bracketed matter in the stage directions throughout the play is the work of Rowe and later editors.

2. sun. The heraldic device of Edward IV was three suns in one.

8. measures. The 'measure' was a formal dance.

10. barbed: caparisoned. The word is properly 'barded.'

I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty
 To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
 I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
 Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
 Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time 20
 Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
 And that so lamely and unfashionable,
 That dogs bark at me as I halt by them;
 Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
 Have no delight to pass away the time, 25
 Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
 And descant on mine own deformity:
 And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover,
 To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
 I am determin'd to prove a villain, 30
 And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
 Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,
 By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,

18. **proportion**: form, shape. 'This fair proportion' may refer to what has just been spoken of as 'love's majesty.' But 'this' is probably here used indefinitely, and with something of a sneer. The demonstrative pronouns were, and still are, often used thus.

19. **feature**: form, figure. Referring to the person in general. Cf. More's description of Richard: "Little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crook-backed." — **dissembling**. Sometimes explained to mean, not 'deceiving,' but putting together or 'assembling' things not 'semblable,' as a brave mind and a deformed body, but the word 'cheated' seems to make rather strongly against this explanation.

24. **piping time**: time of the music of the pipe. The pipe and the tabor were appropriate to peace, the drum and the fife to war. Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, II, iii, 13-16.

29. **entertain**: while away. In I, ii, 256, the word (see Murray) means 'take into service'; in I, iii, 4, iv, 131, 'harbor' (of feelings).

32. **inductions**: beginnings, preparations. So in IV, iv, 5.

To set my brother Clarence and the king
 In deadly hate the one against the other ; 35
 And if King Edward be as true and just
 As I am subtle, false, and treacherous,
 This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up,
 About a prophecy, which says that G
 Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be. 40
 Dive, thoughts, down to my soul ; here Clarence comes.

Enter CLARENCE, guarded, and BRAKENBURY

Brother, good day. What means this armed guard
 That waits upon your grace ?

CLARENCE. His majesty,
 Tend'ring my person's safety, hath appointed
 This conduct to convey me to the Tower. 45

GLOUCESTER. Upon what cause ?

CLARENCE. Because my name is George.

GLOUCESTER. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours ;
 He should, for that, commit your godfathers.
 O, belike his majesty hath some intent
 That you shall be new-christ'ned in the Tower. 50
 But what 's the matter, Clarence ? may I know ?

CLARENCE. Yea, Richard, when I know ; for I protest
 As yet I do not : but, as I can learn,
 He hearkens after prophecies and dreams ;

38. mew'd up. From falconry. Hawks were shut up in a 'mew' during the season of moulting.

44. Tend'ring : having tender regard for, holding dear. Cf. II, iv, 72 ; IV, iv, 405 ; *Hamlet*, I, iii, 107. The verb is derived from the adjective.

45. conduct : conductor, escort. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, III, iv, 265.

49. belike : in all likelihood. See Murray.

And from the cross-row plucks the letter G, 55
 And says a wizard told him that by G
 His issue disinherited should be ;
 And, for my name of George begins with G,
 It follows in his thought that I am he.
 These, as I learn, and such like toys as these 60
 Have mov'd his highness to commit me now.

GLOUCESTER. Why, this it is, when men are rul'd by women.
 'Tis not the king that sends you to the Tower ;
 My Lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 'tis she
 That tempers him to this extremity. 65
 Was it not she and that good man of worship,
 Antony Woodeville, her brother there,
 That made him send Lord Hastings to the Tower,
 From whence this present day he is deliver'd ?
 We are not safe, Clarence ; we are not safe. 70

CLARENCE. By heaven, I think there is no man secure
 But the queen's kindred and night-walking heralds
 That trudge betwixt the king and Mistress Shore.
 Heard ye not what an humble suppliant
 Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery ? 75

65. *tempers* . . . this Q1 | tempts
 him to this harsh Ff.

75. to her for his Qq | for her F1 |
 for his F2F3F4.

55. *cross-row*. An abbreviation of 'Christ-cross-row,' i.e. the alphabet, so called because a cross was placed before it.

58. *for*: because. A frequent usage. Cf. II, ii, 95.

60. *toys*: freaks of imagination. Cf. *Hamlet*, I, iv, 75.

64. *Lady Grey*. See note, line 81.

65. *tempers*: frames, fashions, disposes.

67. *Woodeville*. Here trisyllabic. Often spelled 'Woodville.'

73. *Mistress Shore*. Jane Shore, Edward's mistress, was the wife of a London citizen. She is often mentioned in old chronicles, plays, and poems.

GLOUCESTER. Humbly complaining to her deity
Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.
I'll tell you what; I think it is our way,
If we will keep in favour with the king,
To be her men and wear her livery. 80
The jealous o'erworn widow and herself,
Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
Are mighty gossips in this monarchy.

BRAKENBURY. I beseech your graces both to pardon me;
His majesty hath straitly given in charge 85
That no man shall have private conference,
Of what degree soever, with his brother.

GLOUCESTER. Even so; and please your worship, Braken-
bury,
You may partake of any thing we say.
We speak no treason, man: we say the king 90
Is wise and virtuous; and his noble queen
Well struck in years, fair, and not jealous;
We say that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue;
And that the queen's kindred are made gentlefolks. 95
How say you, sir? can you deny all this?

BRAKENBURY. With this, my lord, myself have nought to do.

GLOUCESTER. Nought to do with Mistress Shore! I tell
thee, fellow,

88. and QqFf | an't Pope Globe.

81. widow. The queen was the widow of Sir John Grey, who, in
3 *Henry VI*, III, ii, 2, was called Sir Richard Grey, probably by a copy-
ist's error. 'Widow' and 'o'erworn' are here used contemptuously.

83. gossips: "persons who are on intimate terms, and therefore
supposed to be possessed of influence with each other." — Clar.
Properly the word means 'godmothers.' See Murray.

He that doth naught with her, excepting one,
Were best to do it secretly, alone. 100

BRAKENBURY. What one, my lord?

GLOUCESTER. Her husband, knave. Wouldst thou betray
me?

BRAKENBURY. Beseech your grace to pardon me; and,
withal,

Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

CLARENCE. We know thy charge, Brakenbury, and will
obey. 105

GLOUCESTER. We are the queen's abjects, and must obey.
Brother, farewell: I will unto the king;
And whatsoe'er you will employ me in,
Were it to call King Edward's widow sister,
I will perform it to enfranchise you. 110

Meantime, this deep disgrace in brotherhood
Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

CLARENCE. I know it pleaseth neither of us well.

GLOUCESTER. Well, your imprisonment shall not be long;
I will deliver you, or else lie for you. 115

Meantime have patience.

CLARENCE. I must perforce. Farewell.

Exeunt CLARENCE, [BRAKENBURY, and *Guard*]

GLOUCESTER. Go, tread the path that thou shalt ne'er
return,

Simple, plain Clarence! I do love thee so

100. to Ff | he Qq.

101-102. Q1 omits.

99. *naught*. Richard is quibbling between 'nought' and 'naught,' the latter of which has the sense of 'naughtiness,' 'wickedness.'

106. *abjects*: humblest and most obedient subjects.

112. 'Touches' and 'lie,' line 115, are used quibblingly.

That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven,
If heaven will take the present at our hands. 120
But who comes here? the new-deliver'd Hastings?

Enter LORD HASTINGS

HASTINGS. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

GLOUCESTER. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!
Well are you welcome to the open air.

How hath your lordship brook'd imprisonment? 125

HASTINGS. With patience, noble lord, as prisoners must;
But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks
That were the cause of my imprisonment.

GLOUCESTER. No doubt, no doubt; and so shall Clarence
too;

For they that were your enemies are his, 130
And have prevail'd as much on him as you.

HASTINGS. More pity that the eagle should be mew'd,
While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.

GLOUCESTER. What news abroad?

HASTINGS. No news so bad abroad as this at home; 135
The king is sickly, weak, and melancholy,
And his physicians fear him mightily.

GLOUCESTER. Now, by Saint Paul, this news is bad indeed.
O, he hath kept an evil diet long,
And overmuch consum'd his royal person; 140
'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.
What, is he in his bed?

HASTINGS. He is.

133. prey Qq | play Ff.

138. Paul Qq | John Ff.

137. fear: fear for, are mightily concerned for.

139. evil diet: bad habit of life (Greek *δlaitra*).

GLOUCESTER. Go you before, and I will follow you.

Exit HASTINGS

He cannot live, I hope ; and must not die 145
Till George be pack'd with post-horse up to heaven.
I'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence,
With lies well steel'd with weighty arguments ;
And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
Clarence hath not another day to live : 150
Which done, God take King Edward to his mercy,
And leave the world for me to bustle in !
For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter.
What though I kill'd her husband and her father ?
The readiest way to make the wench amends, 155
Is to become her husband and her father :
The which will I ; not all so much for love
As for another secret close intent,
By marrying her which I must reach unto.
But yet I run before my horse to market : 160
Clarence still breathes ; Edward still lives and reigns :
When they are gone, then must I count my gains. *Exit*

153. daughter. This was Lady Anne, daughter of Richard Neville, the great Earl of Warwick, known in history as the 'king-maker.' She had been married to Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI. Her young husband was killed, murdered, it was said, at the battle of Tewksbury, which took place May 4, 1471. Her oldest sister, Isabella, wife to the Clarence of this play, had died some time before.

158. secret close intent. Probably the getting into his hands of the son and daughter of Clarence, who had been left in the care of Lady Anne their aunt, and had succeeded to the larger portion of the vast estates of their grandfather, the great Earl of Warwick.

SCENE II. *The same. Another street*

Enter the corpse of KING HENRY THE SIXTH with [Gentlemen and] halberds to guard it [among them TRESSEL and BERKELEY]; LADY ANNE being the mourner

ANNE. Set down, set down your honourable load,
If honour may be shrouded in a hearse,
Whilst I awhile obsequiously lament
Th' untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster.

[The Bearers set down the coffin]

Poor key-cold figure of a holy king! 5
Pale ashes of the house of Lancaster!
Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood!
Be 't lawful that I invoke thy ghost
To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,
Wife to thy Edward, to thy slaught' red son, 10
Stabb'd by the selfsame hand that made these wounds!
Lo, in these windows that let forth thy life
I pour the helpless balm of my poor eyes.
O cursed be the hand that made these holes!
Cursed the heart that had the heart to do it! 15
Cursed the blood that let this blood from hence!

11. wounds Ff | holes Qq.

14. O cursed Ff | Curs'd Qq.

15. Cursed Ff | Curs't be Qq.

16. Qq omit.

3. *obsequiously lament*: make the lamentation proper to obsequies, or rites of burial. Cf. *Hamlet*, I, ii, 92.

5. *key-cold*: cold as a key. A proverbial expression. A key was often used to stop bleeding. Cf. *Lucrece*, 1774-1775: "And then in key-cold Lucrece' bleeding stream He falls."—*holy*. Cf. 'dead saint,' IV, i, 70; 'holy Harry,' IV, i, 25; 'Holy King Henry,' V, i, 5.

13. *helpless*: unhelping, *unavailing*. Cf. 'timeless,' I, ii, 117.

More direful hap betide that hated wretch
 That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
 Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads,
 Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives ! 20
 If ever he have child, abortive be it,
 Prodigious, and untimely brought to light,
 Whose ugly and unnatural aspect
 May fright the hopeful mother at the view ;
 And that be heir to his unhappiness ! 25
 If ever he have wife, let her be made
 More miserable by the death of him
 Than I am made by my young lord and thee !
 Come, now towards Chertsey with your holy load,
 Taken from Paul's to be interred there ; 30
 And still, as you are weary of the weight,
 Rest you, whiles I lament King Henry's corse.

[The Bearers take up the coffin and move forward]

Enter GLOUCESTER

GLOUCESTER. Stay, you that bear the corse, and set it down.

ANNE. What black magician conjures up this fiend,
 To stop devoted charitable deeds ? 35

GLOUCESTER. Villains, set down the corse ; or, by Saint Paul,

I'll make a corse of him that disobeys !

19. adders Qq | Wolves, to Ff.
 25. Qq omit.

27-28. More . . . Than Ff | As . . . As Qq.
 28. young Ff | poor Qq.

22. *Prodigious* : monstrous, portentous. The only meaning of the word in Shakespeare.

25. *unhappiness* : mischievousness, propensity to mischief.

I GENTLEMAN. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass.

GLOUCESTER. Unmanner'd dog! stand thou, when I command.

Advance thy halberd higher than my breast, 40
Or, by Saint Paul, I'll strike thee to my foot,
And spurn upon thee, beggar, for thy boldness.

[*The Bearers set down the coffin*]

ANNE. What, do you tremble? are you all afraid?

Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,
And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil. 45
Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!
Thou hadst but power over his mortal body,
His soul thou canst not have; therefore be gone.

GLOUCESTER. Sweet saint, for charity, be not so curst.

ANNE. Foul devil, for God's sake, hence, and trouble us not;
For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell, 51
Fill'd it with cursing cries and deep exclaims.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries.
O, gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds 55
Open their congeal'd mouths and bleed afresh!
Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity;

39. **Unmanner'd**: unmannerly. So elsewhere in Shakespeare.

40. **advance**: move upwards, raise. Cf. V, iii, 264.

49. **curst**: sharp-tongued, shrewish. Often so. Cf. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, ii, 300.

55-56. **wounds . . . bleed**. This is founded on Holinshed's account of Henry's funeral: "The dead corps was conveyed from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffin bare-faced: the same in presence of the beholders did bleed. From thence he was caried to the Blackfriars, and bled there likewise." It was a popular superstition that the body of a murdered person would bleed afresh, if touched or approached by the murderer.

For 't is thy presence that exhales this blood
 From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells ;
 Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural, 60
 Provokes this deluge most unnatural.

O God, which this blood mad'st, revenge his death !
 O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge his death !
 Either heaven, with lightning strike the murderer dead ;
 Or earth, gape open wide, and eat him quick, 65
 As thou dost swallow up this good king's blood,
 Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered !

GLOUCESTER. Lady, you know no rules of charity,
 Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses.

ANNE. Villain, thou know'st no law of God nor man ; 70
 No beast so fierce but knows some touch of pity.

GLOUCESTER. But I know none, and therefore am no beast.

ANNE. O wonderful, when devils tell the truth !

GLOUCESTER. More wonderful, when angels are so angry.
 Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman, 75
 Of these supposed crimes, to give me leave,
 By circumstance, but to acquit myself.

ANNE. Vouchsafe, defus'd infection of a man,
 For these known evils, but to give me leave,
 By circumstance, to curse thy cursed self. 80

GLOUCESTER. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me have
 Some patient leisure to excuse myself.

76. crimes Ff | evils Qq.

79. For Qq | Of Ff.

58. exhales: draws out. So in line 165. In *Henry V*, II, i, 66, Pistol uses the verb imperatively, meaning 'draw thy sword.'

65. quick: alive, living. Cf. 'quicken,' IV, iv, 123.

78. defus'd: shapeless. So in the Quartos and the First and Second Folios. The Third and Fourth Folios have 'diffus'd.'

ANNE. Fouler than heart can think thee, thou canst make
No excuse current, but to hang thyself.

GLOUCESTER. By such despair I should accuse myself. 85

ANNE. And, by despairing, shouldst thou stand excus'd
For doing worthy vengeance on thyself,
That didst unworthy slaughter upon others.

GLOUCESTER. Say that I slew them not.

ANNE. Why, then they are not dead ;
But dead they are, and, devilish slave, by thee. 90

GLOUCESTER. I did not kill your husband.

ANNE. Why, then he is alive.

GLOUCESTER. Nay, he is dead ; and slain by Edward's hand.

ANNE. In thy foul throat thou liest ! Queen Margaret saw
Thy murderous falchion smoking in his blood ;
The which thou once didst bend against her breast, 95
But that thy brothers beat aside the point.

GLOUCESTER. I was provoked by her slanderous tongue,
That laid their guilt upon my guiltless shoulders.

ANNE. Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind,
That never dreamt on aught but butcheries. 100
Didst thou not kill this king ?

GLOUCESTER. I grant ye.

ANNE. Dost grant me, hedgehog ? then, God grant me too
Thou mayst be damned for that wicked deed !
O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous !

GLOUCESTER. The fitter for the king of heaven, that hath
him. 105

ANNE. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never come.

88, 98, 100. That Ff | Which Qq.

89. Say . . . not : suppose that I did not kill them.

98. their guilt. The guilt of his brothers who slew the prince.

GLOUCESTER. Let him thank me, that holp to send him
thither;

For he was fitter for that place than earth.

ANNE. And thou unfit for any place but hell.

GLOUCESTER. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me
name it. 110

ANNE. Some dungeon.

GLOUCESTER. Your bed-chamber.

ANNE. Ill rest betide the chamber where thou liest!

GLOUCESTER. So will it, madam, till I lie with you.

ANNE. I hope so.

GLOUCESTER. I know so. But, gentle Lady Anne,
To leave this keen encounter of our wits, 115
And fall somewhat into a slower method,
Is not the causer of the timeless deaths
Of these Plantagenets, Henry and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner? 119

ANNE. Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.

GLOUCESTER. Your beauty was the cause of that effect;
Your beauty that did haunt me in my sleep
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your sweet bosom.

ANNE. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide, 125
These nails should rend that beauty from my cheeks.

GLOUCESTER. These eyes could not endure that beauty's
wreck;

120. *wast* Ff | art Qq.

122. *that* Ff | which Qq.

127. *not* Ff | *never* Qq. — *that*
Ff | *sweet* Qq.

107. *holp*. The usual form in Shakespeare, but see V, iii, 167.

117. *timeless*: untimely. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, V, iii, 162: "Poison,
I see, hath been his timeless end." Cf. 'helpless,' I, ii, 13, and see note.

120. *effect*: execution. Schmidt suggests 'efficient cause.'

You should not blemish it, if I stood by.

As all the world is cheered by the sun,

So I by that; it is my day, my life. 130

ANNE. Black night o'ershade thy day, and death thy life!

GLOUCESTER. Curse not thyself, fair creature; thou art both.

ANNE. I would I were, to be reveng'd on thee.

GLOUCESTER. It is a quarrel most unnatural,

To be reveng'd on him that loveth thee. 135

ANNE. It is a quarrel just and reasonable,

To be reveng'd on him that kill'd my husband.

GLOUCESTER. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,
Did it to help thee to a better husband.

ANNE. His better doth not breathe upon the earth. 140

GLOUCESTER. He lives that loves thee better than he could.

ANNE. Name him.

GLOUCESTER. Plantagenet.

ANNE. Why, that was he.

GLOUCESTER. The selfsame name, but one of better nature.

ANNE. Where is he?

GLOUCESTER. Here.

[*She spits at him*]

Why dost thou spit at me?

ANNE. Would it were mortal poison, for thy sake! 145

GLOUCESTER. Never came poison from so sweet a place.

ANNE. Never hung poison on a fouler toad.

Out of my sight! thou dost infect mine eyes.

GLOUCESTER. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.

ANNE. Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead! 150

150. basilisks. The basilisk, or cockatrice (cf. IV, i, 54), was supposed to kill by a look. Shakespeare has several allusions to the power of this fabulous serpent. Cf. *2 Henry VI*, III, ii, 52.

GLOUCESTER. I would they were, that I might die at once ;
For now they kill me with a living death.

Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,

Sham'd their aspects with store of childish drops.

These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear, 155

No, when my father York and Edward wept

To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made

When black-fac'd Clifford shook his sword at him ;

Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,

Told the sad story of my father's death, 160

And twenty times made pause to sob and weep,

That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,

Like trees bedash'd with rain ; — in that sad time

My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear ;

And what these sorrows could not thence exhale, 165

Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.

I never sued to friend nor enemy ;

My tongue could never learn sweet smoothing words ;

But, now thy beauty is propos'd my fee,

My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak. 170

She looks scornfully at him

Teach not thy lips such scorn ; for they were made

For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.

If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,

Lo, here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword ;

Which if thou please to hide in this true breast, 175

175. breast Ff | bosom Qq.

155. remorseful: pitiful. Cf. 'remorse' for 'pity,' III, vii, 211
In IV, i, 108, 'remorse' has its ordinary meaning.

157. To hear: at hearing. The infinitive used gerundively.

168. smoothing: flattering. Cf. 'smooth,' I, iii, 48.

And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

He lays his breast open : she offers at it with his sword

Nay, do not pause ; for I did kill King Henry, —
But 't was thy beauty that provoked me. 180
Nay, now dispatch ; 't was I that stabb'd young Edward,
But 't was thy heavenly face that set me on.

She lets fall the sword

Take up the sword again, or take up me.

ANNE. Arise, dissembler ; though I wish thy death,
I will not be thy executioner. 185

GLOUCESTER. Then bid me kill myself, and I will do it.

[Rises, and takes up his sword]

ANNE. I have already.

GLOUCESTER. That was in thy rage ;
Speak it again, and, even with the word,
This hand, which for thy love did kill thy love,
Shall for thy love kill a far truer love ; 190
To both their deaths shalt thou be accessary.

ANNE. I would I knew thy heart.

GLOUCESTER. 'T is figur'd in my tongue.

ANNE. I fear me both are false.

GLOUCESTER. Then never man was true. 195

ANNE. Well, well, put up your sword.

GLOUCESTER. Say, then, my peace is made.

ANNE. That shalt thou know hereafter.

GLOUCESTER. But shall I live in hope ?

ANNE. All men, I hope, live so. 200

179. for . . . Henry Ff | twas I
that kild your husband Qq.

181. 'twas . . . Edward Ff | twas
I that kild king Henry Qq.

GLOUCESTER. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

ANNE. To take, is not to give. [*She puts on the ring*]

GLOUCESTER. Look, how my ring encompasseth thy finger,
Even so thy breast encloseth my poor heart;
Wear both of them, for both of them are thine. 205

And if thy poor devoted servant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

ANNE. What is it?

GLOUCESTER. That it may please you leave these sad
designs 210

To him that hath more cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby House,
Where, after I have solemnly interr'd,
At Chertsey monastery, this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears, 215
I will with all expedient duty see you.
For divers unknown reasons, I beseech you,
Grant me this boon.

ANNE. With all my heart; and much it joys me too
To see you are become so penitent. 220
Tressel and Berkeley, go along with me.

GLOUCESTER. Bid me farewell.

ANNE. 'T is more than you deserve;
But, since you teach me how to flatter you,
Imagine I have said farewell already.

Exeunt LADY ANNE, TRESSEL, and BERKELEY

GLOUCESTER. Sirs, take up the corse.

202-203. To . . . give Qq | Ff omit.

206. servant Ff | suppliant Qq.

212. House Ff | Place Qq.

225. Sirs . . . corse Qq | Ff omit.

216. expedient duty : expeditious respect.

GENTLEMEN. Towards Chertsey, noble lord? 225

GLOUCESTER. No, to White-Friars; there attend my coming.

Exeunt all but GLOUCESTER

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?

Was ever woman in this humour won?

I'll have her; but I will not keep her long.

What! I, that kill'd her husband and his father, 230

To take her in her heart's extremest hate,

With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,

The bleeding witness of her hatred by;

Having God, her conscience, and these bars against me,

And I no friends to back my suit withal 235

But the plain devil and dissembling looks,

And yet to win her, all the world to nothing!

Ha!

Hath she forgot already that brave prince,

Edward, her lord, whom I, some three months since, 240

Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?

A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman,

Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,

Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right royal,

235. no friends Ff | nothing Qq. — withal Ff | at all Q1Q2.

226. attend: wait for, await. Often so.

237. all the world to nothing: the chances against me were as all the world to nothing. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III, v, 215.

241. Tewksbury. This fixes the time of the scene as August, 1471. King Edward, however, is introduced in the second act as dying. That king died in April, 1483; consequently there is an interval between this act and the next of almost twelve years. Clarence, who is represented in the preceding scene as committed to the Tower before the burial of Henry VI, was in fact not sent to prison till February, 1478, nearly seven years later.

The spacious world cannot again afford : 245
 And will she yet abase her eyes on me,
 That cropp'd the golden prime of this sweet prince,
 And made her widow to a woeful bed ?
 On me, whose all not equals Edward's moiety ?
 On me, that halt and am mis-shapen thus ? 250
 My dukedom to a beggarly denier,
 I do mistake my person all this while :
 Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
 Myself to be a marvellous proper man.
 I'll be at charges for a looking-glass, 255
 And entertain a score or two of tailors
 To study fashions to adorn my body.
 Since I am crept in favour with myself,
 I will maintain it with some little cost.
 But first I'll turn yon fellow in his grave, 260
 And then return lamenting to my love.
 Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass,
 That I may see my shadow as I pass. *Exit*

SCENE III. [*The palace*]

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, LORD RIVERS, and LORD GREY

RIVERS. Have patience, madam ; there's no doubt his
 majesty
 Will soon recover his accustom'd health.

246. abase Ff | debase Qq.

255. a Ff | some Qq.

251. denier. A small coin, the twelfth part of a French *sol*.

254. marvellous proper : extremely handsome.

256. entertain : take into service. See note, I, i, 29.

260. in : into. Often so. Cf. I, iii, 89 ; III, vii, 128 ; V, iii, 222.

GREY. In that you brook it ill, it makes him worse:
Therefore, for God's sake, entertain good comfort,
And cheer his grace with quick and merry words. 5

QUEEN ELIZABETH. If he were dead, what would betide
of me?

RIVERS. No other harm but loss of such a lord.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. The loss of such a lord includes all
harms.

GREY. The heavens have bless'd you with a goodly son,
To be your comforter when he is gone. 10

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Ah, he is young; and his minority
Is put into the trust of Richard Gloucester,
A man that loves not me nor none of you.

RIVERS. Is it concluded he shall be protector? 14

QUEEN ELIZABETH. It is determin'd, not concluded yet:
But so it must be, if the king miscarry.

Enter BUCKINGHAM and STANLEY

GREY. Here come the Lords of Buckingham and Stanley.

BUCKINGHAM. Good time of day unto your royal grace!

STANLEY. God make your majesty joyful as you have been!

7. RIVERS Qq | Grey Ff.

5. *quick*: lively, sprightly. Cf. I, ii, 65, and line 197

15. *determin'd*: resolved on. — *concluded*: formally passed (so as to be a ground of action).

17. *Enter* . . . STANLEY. The Quartos and Folios have 'Derby' or 'Darby.' The emendation in the text is Theobald's. Henry Stafford, the Duke of Buckingham, was descended, on his father's side, from Thomas of Woodstock, the fifth son of Edward III. He was as accomplished and as unprincipled as he was nobly descended. Thomas Lord Stanley was lord steward of the household of Edward IV.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. The Countess Richmond, good my
Lord of Stanley, 20

To your good prayer will scarcely say amen.
Yet, Stanley, notwithstanding she's your wife,
And loves not me, be you, good lord, assur'd
I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

STANLEY. I do beseech you, either not believe 25
The envious slanders of her false accusers;
Or, if she be accus'd on true report,
Bear with her weakness, which, I think, proceeds
From wayward sickness, and no grounded malice. 29

RIVERS. Saw you the king to-day, my Lord of Stanley?

STANLEY. But now the Duke of Buckingham and I
Are come from visiting his majesty.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. What likelihood of his amendment,
lords?

BUCKINGHAM. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks
cheerfully.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. God grant him health! Did you confer
with him? 35

30. RIVERS Qq | Queen Ff.

20. *Countess Richmond.* The Countess of Richmond was Margaret, the only child of John Beaufort, the first Duke of Somerset, and so was descended from John of Gaunt through the Beaufort branch of his family. Margaret's first husband was Edmund, Earl of Richmond, son of Owen Tudor, by whom she became the mother of Henry VII. Afterwards she was married successively to Sir Henry Stafford, uncle of Buckingham, and to the Lord Stanley of this play (V, v, 9). She lived to a great age, and was so highly reputed for prudence and virtue that her grandson, Henry VIII, was mainly guided by her advice in forming his first council.

26. *envious*: malicious. So in I, iv, 37. Cf. 'envy,' IV, i, 99.

29. *wayward*: showing itself in waywardness.

BUCKINGHAM. Ay, madam. He desires to make atonement
Between the Duke of Gloucester and your brothers,
And between them and my lord chamberlain;
And sent to warn them to his royal presence.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Would all were well ! but that will
never be ; 40
I fear our happiness is at the height.

Enter GLOUCESTER [HASTINGS, *and* DORSET]

GLOUCESTER. They do me wrong, and I will not endure it.
Who are they that complain unto the king
That I, forsooth, am stern, and love them not?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly 45
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.
Because I cannot flatter and speak fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,
I must be held a rancorous enemy. 50
Cannot a plain man live and think no harm,
But thus his simple truth must be abus'd
By silken, sly, insinuating Jacks?

RIVERS. To whom in all this presence speaks your grace?

GLOUCESTER. To thee, that hast nor honesty nor grace.
 When have I injured thee? when done thee wrong? 56
 Or thee? or thee? or any of your faction?
 A plague upon you all! His royal grace —

41. height Ff | highest Qq.

58. grace Ff | person Qq.

36. atonement : reconciliation. Cf. 'atone,' *As You Like It*, V, iv, 116.

39. warn: summon. Cf. *King John*, II, i, 201.

48. smooth: flatter. As in I, ii, 168. — cog: cajole, cheat.

53. **Jacks.** 'Jack' was often used as a term of contempt.

Whom God preserve better than you would wish! —
 Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while, 60
 But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Brother of Gloucester, you mistake
 the matter.

The king, of his own royal disposition,
 And not provok'd by any suitor else;
 Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred, 65
 That in your outward action shows itself
 Against my children, brothers, and myself,
 Makes him to send, that thereby he may gather
 The ground of your ill-will, and so remove it.

GLOUCESTER. I cannot tell; the world is grown so bad, 70
 That wrens may prey where eagles dare not perch.
 Since every Jack became a gentleman,
 There's many a gentle person made a Jack.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Come, come, we know your meaning,
 brother Gloucester;
 You envy my advancement and my friends': 75
 God grant we never may have need of you!

GLOUCESTER. Meantime, God grants that we have need
 of you:
 Our brother is imprison'd by your means,
 Myself disgrac'd, and the nobility
 Held in contempt; while great promotions 80

80. while great Ff | whilst many fair Qq.

61. lewd: knavish, wicked, base. Cf. *Richard II*, I, i, 90.

68-69. The reading is substantially that of the Quartos. The Folios have: "Makes him to send that he may learn the ground."

72-73. Richard is referring to the queen's sons, the Greys, and her brothers, the Woodvilles.

Are daily given to ennoble those
That scarce, some two days since, were worth a noble.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. By Him that raised me to this careful
height

From that contented hap which I enjoy'd,
I never did incense his majesty 85
Against the Duke of Clarence, but have been
An earnest advocate to plead for him.
My lord, you do me shameful injury,
Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects.

GLOUCESTER. You may deny that you were not the cause
Of my Lord Hastings' late imprisonment. 91

RIVERS. She may, my lord; for —

GLOUCESTER. She may, Lord Rivers! why, who knows
not so?

She may do more, sir, than denying that;
She may help you to many fair preferments, 95
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay those honours on your high desert.
What may she not? She may — ay, marry may she, —

RIVERS. What, marry, may she? 99

GLOUCESTER. What, marry, may she! marry with a king,
A bachelor, a handsome stripling too
I wis your grandam had a worser match.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. My Lord of Gloucester, I have too
long borne

Your blunt upbraidings and your bitter scoffs:
By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty 105

89. *suspects*: suspicions. So in III, v, 32.

102. *I wis*: assuredly. Not a true verb but a corruption of the
Middle English adverb *ȝwis*, 'certainly.'

With those gross taunts I often have endur'd.
 I had rather be a country servant-maid
 Than a great queen, with this condition,
 To be so baited, scorn'd, and stormed at.

Enter old QUEEN MARGARET

Small joy have I in being England's Queen. 110

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] And less'ned be that small,
 God, I beseech Him!

Thy honour, state, and seat is due to me.

GLOUCESTER. What! threat you me with telling of the king?
 Tell him, and spare not: look, what I have said
 I will avouch in presence of the king; 115
 I dare adventure to be sent to th' Tower.

'Tis time to speak; my pains are quite forgot.

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] Out, devil! I remember them
 too well;

Thou kill'dst my husband Henry in the Tower,
 And Edward, my poor son, at Tewksbury. 120

GLOUCESTER. Ere you were queen, ay, or your husband
 king,

I was a pack-horse in his great affairs;
 A weeder-out of his proud adversaries,
 A liberal rewarder of his friends:
 To royalize his blood I spilt mine own. 125

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] Ay, and much better blood
 than his or thine.

GLOUCESTER. In all which time you and your husband Grey

109. so . . . stormed Ff | thus
 taunted, scorn'd and baited Qq.

114. Tell . . . said Qq | Ff omit.

119. kill'dst Ff | slew'st Qq.
 121, 126. ay Ff | yea Qq.

Were factious for the House of Lancaster ;
And, Rivers, so were you. Was not your husband
In Margaret's battle at Saint Alban's slain ? 130
Let me put in your minds, if you forget,
What you have been ere now, and what you are ;
Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] A murderous villain, and so
still thou art.

GLOUCESTER. Poor Clarence did forsake his father, War-
wick ; 135

Ay, and forswore himself — which Jesu pardon ! —

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] Which God revenge !

GLOUCESTER. To fight on Edward's party, for the crown ;
And for his meed, poor lord, he is mew'd up.
I would to God my heart were flint, like Edward's ; 140
Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine :
I am too childish-foolish for this world.

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] Hie thee to hell for shame,
and leave this world,

Thou cacodemon ! there thy kingdom is.

RIVERS. My Lord of Gloucester, in those busy days 145
Which here you urge to prove us enemies,

130. battle: army. A common use. Sir John Grey, the Queen's former husband, fell in what is known as the second battle of Saint Albans, which took place February 18, 1461. In that battle the Lancastrians were victorious, Queen Margaret being at the head of the army on that side. Their advantage, however, was much more than lost at the great battle of Towton, fought on the 29th of March following, and one of the fiercest and bloodiest in the long series of wars known as the Wars of the Roses. Upon this triumph of the Yorkists, many of the Lancastrians, and among them the Greys, were attainted, and stripped of their possessions.

144. cacodemon; evil spirit. Properly it means 'unfortunate.'

We follow'd then our lord, our lawful king;
So should we you, if you should be our king.

GLOUCESTER. If I should be! I had rather be a pedlar;
Far be it from my heart, the thought of it! 150

QUEEN ELIZABETH. As little joy, my lord, as you suppose
You should enjoy, were you this country's king,
As little joy may you suppose in me,
That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] As little joy enjoys the queen
thereof; 155

For I am she, and altogether joyless.

I can no longer hold me patient. [*Advancing*]

Hear me, you wrangling pirates, that fall out

In sharing that which you have pill'd from me!

Which of you trembles not that looks on me? 160

If not, that, I being queen, you bow like subjects,

Yet that, by you depos'd, you quake like rebels?

Ah, gentle villain, do not turn away!

GLOUCESTER. Foul wrinkled witch, what mak'st thou in
my sight?

QUEEN MARGARET. But repetition of what thou hast
marr'd; 165

That will I make before I let thee go.

GLOUCESTER. Wert thou not banished on pain of death?

167-170. GLOUCESTER . . . abode Ff | Qq omit.

159. pill'd: robbed, pillaged. The word was often used with 'poll' in the sense of 'strip bare of everything' "Kildare did use to pill and poll his friendes, tenants, and reteyners." — Holinshed.

164. mak'st: doest. The play on 'make' and 'mar' is common.

167. Margaret fled into France after the battle of Hexham, in 1464, and Edward issued a proclamation prohibiting any of his subjects from aiding her return, or harboring her, should she attempt

QUEEN MARGARET. I was ;
But I do find more pain in banishment
Than death can yield me here by my abode. 170
A husband and a son thou owest to me,
And thou a kingdom, all of you allegiance :
The sorrow that I have, by right is yours ;
And all the pleasures you usurp are mine.

GLOUCESTER. The curse my noble father laid on thee, 175
When thou didst crown his warlike brows with paper,
And with thy scorns drew'st rivers from his eyes ;
And then, to dry them, gavest the duke a clout
Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland, —
His curses, then from bitterness of soul 180
Denounc'd against thee, are all fall'n upon thee ;
And God, not we, hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. So just is God, to right the innocent.

HASTINGS. O, 't was the foulest deed to slay that babe,
And the most merciless that e'er was heard of ! 185

RIVERS. Tyrants themselves wept when it was reported.

DORSET. No man but prophesied revenge for it.

BUCKINGHAM. Northumberland, then present, wept to
see it.

QUEEN MARGARET. What ! were you snarling all before
I came,
Ready to catch each other by the throat, 190

to revisit England. She remained abroad till April, 1471, when she landed at Weymouth. After the battle of Tewksbury, in May, 1471, she was confined in the Tower, where she continued a prisoner till 1475, when she was ransomed by Louis XI, and removed to France, where she died in 1482.

175-182. This scene is described at length in *3 Henry VI*, I, iv.

177. scorns. For the plural form cf. *Hamlet*, III, i, 70.

And turn you all your hatred now on me?
 Did York's dread curse prevail so much with heaven,
 That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,
 Their kingdom's loss, my woeful banishment,
 Could all but answer for that peevish brat? 195

Can curses pierce the clouds and enter heaven?
 Why, then give way, dull clouds, to my quick curses!

Though not by war, by surfeit die your king,
 As ours by murder, to make him a king!

Edward thy son, that now is Prince of Wales, 200

For Edward my son, that was Prince of Wales,
 Die in his youth by like untimely violence!

Thyself a queen, for me that was a queen,

Outlive thy glory, like my wretched self!

Long mayst thou live to wail thy children's loss; 205

And see another, as I see thee now,

Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art stall'd in mine!

Long die thy happy days before thy death;

And, after many length'ned hours of grief,

Die neither mother, wife, nor England's queen! 210

Rivers and Dorset, you were standers-by,

And so wast thou, Lord Hastings, when my son

Was stabb'd with bloody daggers; God, I pray him,

That none of you may live his natural age,
 But by some unlook'd accident cut off! 215

GLOUCESTER. Have done thy charm, thou hateful wither'd
 hag!

QUEEN MARGARET. And leave out thee? stay, dog, for
 thou shalt hear me.

If heaven have any grievous plague in store
 Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,

O, let them keep it till thy sins be ripe, 220
 And then hurl down their indignation
 On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace!
 The worm of conscience still begnaw thy soul!
 Thy friends suspect for traitors while thou liv'st,
 And take deep traitors for thy dearest friends! 225
 No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
 Unless it be while some tormenting dream
 Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!
 Thou elvish-mark'd, abortive, rooting hog!
 Thou that wast seal'd in thy nativity 230
 The slave of nature and the son of hell!
 Thou slander of thy heavy mother's womb!
 Thou loathed issue of thy father's loins!
 Thou rag of honour! thou detested —

GLOUCESTER. Margaret.

QUEEN MARGARET. Richard!

GLOUCESTER. Ha!

QUEEN MARGARET. I call thee not. 235

GLOUCESTER. I cry thee mercy, then; for I did think
 That thou hadst call'd me all these bitter names.

QUEEN MARGARET. Why, so I did; but look'd for no reply.
 O, let me make the period to my curse! 239

GLOUCESTER. 'T is done by me, and ends in — Margaret.

220. *them*. The reference is to 'heaven,' which is treated here as a plural. Cf. 'hell,' IV, iv, 71.

229. *elvish-mark'd*. There was an old belief that deformities of person were the work of malignant or mischievous fairies or 'elves.' — *hog*. An allusion to his heraldic device, which was a white boar. "The expression," says Warburton, "is fine: remembering her youngest son, she alludes to the ravage which hogs make with the finest flowers in gardens."

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Thus have you breath'd your curse
against yourself.

QUEEN MARGARET. Poor painted queen, vain flourish of
my fortune !

Why strew'st thou sugar on that bottled spider,
Whose deadly web ensnareth thee about ?

Fool, fool ! thou whett'st a knife to kill thyself. 245

The day will come that thou shalt wish for me
To help thee curse that poisonous bunch-back'd toad.

HASTINGS. False-boding woman, end thy frantic curse,
Lest to thy harm thou move our patience.

QUEEN MARGARET. Foul shame upon you ! you have all
mov'd mine. 250

RIVERS. Were you well serv'd, you would be taught your
duty.

QUEEN MARGARET. To serve me well, you all should do
me duty,

Teach me to be your queen, and you my subjects ;
O, serve me well, and teach yourselves that duty !

DORSET. Dispute not with her ; she is lunatic. 255

QUEEN MARGARET. Peace, master marquess, you are
malapert ;

Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current.

O, that your young nobility could judge

What 't were to lose it, and be miserable !

They that stand high have many blasts to shake them ; 260

And if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces.

243. *bottled spider* : large bloated spider. An allusion to Richard's form and venom. Cf. IV, iv, 81, where the epithet 'bunch-back'd,' line 247, is also repeated.

257. *fire-new* : brand-new, fresh from the mint.

GLOUCESTER. Good counsel, marry; learn it, learn it,
marquess.

DORSET. It touches you, my lord, as much as me.

GLOUCESTER. Ay, and much more; but I was born so high:
Our aerie buildeth in the cedar's top, 265
And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun.

QUEEN MARGARET. And turns the sun to shade; alas! alas!
Witness my son, now in the shade of death;
Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternal darkness folded up. 270
Your aerie buildeth in our aerie's nest.
O God, that see'st it, do not suffer it;
As it was won with blood, lost be it so!

RIVERS. Peace, peace, for shame, if not for charity.

QUEEN MARGARET. Urge neither charity nor shame to me;
Uncharitably with me have you dealt, 276
And shamefully by you my hopes are butcher'd.
My charity is outrage, life my shame;
And in that shame still live my sorrow's rage!

BUCKINGHAM. Have done, have done. 280

QUEEN MARGARET. O princely Buckingham, I'll kiss thy
hand,

In sign of league and amity with thee;
Now fair befall thee and thy noble house!
Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compass of my curse. 285

274. Peace, peace Ff | Have done Qq Globe.

265. aerie: sturdy brood. Originally 'nest of a bird of prey.'
Cf. *King John*, V, ii, 149; *Hamlet*, II, ii, 354.

278. My charity . . . shame: outrage is the only charity shown
me, and a life of shame, dishonour, is all the life permitted me.

BUCKINGHAM. Nor no one here ; for curses never pass
The lips of those that breathe them in the air.

QUEEN MARGARET. I 'll not believe but they ascend the sky,
And there awake God's gentle-sleeping peace.

O Buckingham, take heed of yonder dog ! 290

Look, when he fawns he bites ; and, when he bites,
His venom tooth will rankle to the death.

Have not to do with him, beware of him ;

Sin, death, and hell have set their marks on him ;

And all their ministers attend on him. 295

GLOUCESTER. What doth she say, my Lord of Buckingham?

BUCKINGHAM. Nothing that I respect, my gracious lord.

QUEEN MARGARET. What, dost thou scorn me for my
gentle counsel?

And soothe the devil that I warn thee from ?

O, but remember this another day, 300

When he shall split thy very heart with sorrow,

And say, poor Margaret was a prophetess !

Live each of you the subjects to his hate,

And he to yours, and all of you to God's ! [Exit] 304

HASTINGS. My hair doth stand on end to hear her curses.

RIVERS. And so doth mine : I muse why she 's at liberty.

GLOUCESTER. I cannot blame her : by God's holy mother,
She hath had too much wrong ; and I repent

My part thereof that I have done to her. 309

QUEEN ELIZABETH. I never did her any, to my knowledge.

GLOUCESTER. Yet you have all the vantage of her wrong.
I was too hot to do somebody good
That is too cold in thinking of it now.

305. HASTINGS Qq | Buc. (Buckingham) Ff.

306. muse : marvel, wonder. The Quartos read 'wonder.'

Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repaid ;
 He is frank'd up to fattening for his pains : 315
 God pardon them that are the cause of it !

RIVERS. A virtuous and a Christian-like conclusion,
 To pray for them that have done scathe to us.

GLOUCESTER. So do I ever, being well advis'd ;
 [*Aside*] For, had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself. 320

Enter CATESBY

CATESBY. Madam, his majesty doth call for you,
 And for your grace, and you, my noble lords.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Catesby, I come. Lords, will you go
 with me ?

RIVERS. We wait upon your grace.

[*Exeunt all but GLOUCESTER*]

GLOUCESTER. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl. 325
 The secret mischiefs that I set abroad
 I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
 Clarence, whom I indeed have laid in darkness,
 I do beweepe to many simple gulls ;
 Namely, to Hastings, Derby, Buckingham ; 330
 And say it is the queen and her allies
 That stir the king against the duke my brother.
 Now, they believe it ; and withal whet me
 To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey :
 But then I sigh ; and, with a piece of scripture, 335
 Tell them that God bids us do good for evil :

324. We wait upon Ff | Madam, we will attend Qq.

315. frank'd. A 'frank' was a hog-sty. Cf. *2 Henry IV*, II, ii, 160.

318. scathe : harm. From the Anglo-Saxon verb *sceaðan*.

319. being well advis'd : having well considered. As in II, i, 106.

And thus I clothe my naked villainy
 With old odd ends stol'n out of holy writ ;
 And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.
 But, soft ! here come my executioners.

340

Enter two Murderers

How now, my hardy, stout, resolved mates !
 Are you now going to dispatch this thing ?

I MURDERER. We are, my lord ; and come to have the
 warrant,

That we may be admitted where he is.

GLOUCESTER. Well thought upon ; I have it here about
 me. *[Gives the warrant]*

345

When you have done, repair to Crosby Place.

But, sirs, be sudden in the execution,

Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead ;

For Clarence is well-spoken, and perhaps

May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.

350

I MURDERER. Tut, tut, my lord, we will not stand to prate ;
 Talkers are no good doers : be assur'd

We go to use our hands and not our tongues.

GLOUCESTER. Your eyes drop millstones, when fools' eyes
 drop tears.

I like you, lads ; about your business straight ;

355

Go, go, dispatch.

I MURDERER. We will, my noble lord. *[Exeunt]*

343, 351, 356. I MURDERER | Exec. Qq | Vil. Ff.

354. *eyes drop millstones.* 'Weeping millstones' was a proverbial phrase used of persons not apt to weep. Cf. I, iv, 237. In the tragedy of *Cæsar and Pompey* (1607) occurs the line: "Men's eyes must mill-stones drop, when fools shed tears."

SCENE IV. [*London. The Tower*]*Enter CLARENCE and Keeper*

KEEPER. Why looks your grace so heavily to-day?

CLARENCE. O, I have pass'd a miserable night,
So full of ugly sights, of ghastly dreams,
That, as I am a Christian faithful man,
I would not spend another such a night, 5
Though 't were to buy a world of happy days,
So full of dismal terror was the time!

KEEPER. What was your dream, my lord? I pray you,
tell me.

CLARENCE. Methoughts that I had broken from the Tower,
And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy; 10
And, in my company, my brother Gloucester;
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
Upon the hatches: thence we look'd toward England,
And cited up a thousand fearful times,
During the wars of York and Lancaster, 15
That had befall'n us. As we pac'd along
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
Methought that Gloucester stumbled; and, in falling,
Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard
Into the tumbling billows of the main. 20
Lord, Lord! methought, what pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!

9-10. Methoughts . . . cross to Ff | Me thoughts I was imbarkt for Qq.

11. KEEPER. So in the Folios; the Quartos assign the Keeper's speeches to Brakenbury.

10. Burgundy. Margaret, sister of Clarence and Richard had married Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

What ugly sights of death within mine eyes !
 Methought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks ;
 A thousand men that fishes gnaw'd upon ; 25
 Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
 Inestimable stones, unvalu'd jewels,
 All scatt'red in the bottom of the sea :
 Some lay in dead men's skulls ; and, in those holes
 Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept, 30
 As 't were in scorn of eyes, reflecting gems,
 That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
 And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.

KEEPER. Had you such leisure in the time of death
 To gaze upon the secrets of the deep ? 35

CLARENCE. Methought I had ; and often did I strive
 To yield the ghost : but still the envious flood
 Stopp'd in my soul, and would not let it forth
 To seek the empty, vast, and wandering air ;
 But smother'd it within my panting bulk, 40
 Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.

KEEPER. Awak'd you not with this sore agony ?

38. Stopp'd Ff | Kept Qq.

39. seek Qq | find Ff.

27. unvalu'd : invaluable, past valuing, inestimable.

37. envious : malicious. As in I, iii, 26.

39. vast : void, waste. The original (Latin) meaning. — **wandering air** : aërial expanse. Where the soul would be free to use its wings and roam at large. Cf. the description of Raphael's voyage to the earth, *Paradise Lost*, V, 267-270 :

He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
 Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing,
 Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
 Winnows the buxom air.

40. bulk : body, trunk. See Murray. Cf. *Hamlet*, II, i, 95.

CLARENCE. No, no, my dream was lengthen'd after life;
 O, then began the tempest to my soul!
 I pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood, 45
 With that grim ferryman which poets write of,
 Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
 The first that there did greet my stranger soul
 Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick;
 Who cried aloud, 'What scourge for perjury 50
 Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?'
 And so he vanish'd. Then came wandering by
 A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
 Dabbled in blood; and he shriek'd out aloud,
 'Clarence is come, false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence, 55
 That stabb'd me in the field by Tewksbury:
 Seize on him, Furies, take him to your torments!'
 With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
 Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears
 Such hideous cries, that with the very noise 60
 I trembling wak'd, and for a season after
 Could not believe but that I was in hell,
 Such terrible impression made my dream.

KEEPER. No marvel, lord, though it affrighted you;
 I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it. 65

CLARENCE. Ah! Keeper, Keeper, I have done those things,
 That now give evidence against my soul,
 For Edward's sake; and see how he requites me!
 O God! if my deep prayers cannot appease thee,
 But thou wilt be aveng'd on my misdeeds, 70

54. shriek'd Ff | squakt Q1 |
 squeakt Q2Q8 | squeak'd Globe Camb.

66. Ah!...Keeper Ff | O Broken-
 bury Qq.

55. fleeting: inconstant. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V, ii, 240.

Yet execute thy will on me alone ;
 O, spare my guiltless wife and my poor children !
 Keeper, I prithee, sit by me awhile ;
 My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

KEEPER. I will, my lord. God give your grace good rest !

[CLARENCE *sleeps in a chair*] 75

Enter BRAKENBURY, the Lieutenant

BRAKENBURY. Sorrow breaks seasons and reposing hours,
 Makes the night morning, and the noontide night.
 Princes have but their titles for their glories,
 An outward honour for an inward toil ;
 And, for unfelt imaginations, 80
 They often feel a world of restless cares :
 So that, between their titles and low name,
 There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the two Murderers

I MURDERER. Ho ! who's here ?

BRAKENBURY. What wouldst thou, fellow ? and how
 cam'st thou hither ? 85

I MURDERER. I would speak with Clarence, and I came
 hither on my legs.

BRAKENBURY. What, so brief ?

2 MURDERER. 'Tis better, sir, than to be tedious. Let
 him see our commission ; and talk no more. 90

[I Murderer *gives a paper to BRAKENBURY, who reads it*]

85. What . . . hither Ff | In Gods name what are you and how came
 you hither Qq.

80. unfelt imaginations : pleasures of imagination never experi-
 enced.

BRAKENBURY. I am, in this, commanded to deliver
The noble Duke of Clarence to your hands.

I will not reason what is meant hereby,
Because I will be guiltless of the meaning.

Here are the keys ; there sits the duke asleep : 95

I'll to the king ; and signify to him

That thus I have resign'd to you my charge.

1 MURDERER. You may, sir ; 't is a point of wisdom :
fare you well. *Exit [BRAKENBURY with KEEPER]*

2 MURDERER. What, shall we stab him as he sleeps ? 100

1 MURDERER. No ; he'll say 't was done cowardly, when
he wakes.

2 MURDERER. When he wakes ! why, fool, he shall never
wake till the judgment-day.

1 MURDERER. Why, then he'll say we stabb'd him
sleeping. 106

2 MURDERER. The urging of that word ' judgment ' hath
bred a kind of remorse in me.

1 MURDERER. What, art thou afraid ?

2 MURDERER. Not to kill him, having a warrant for it ;
but to be damn'd for killing him, from the which no warrant
can defend me. 112

1 MURDERER. I thought thou hadst been resolute.

2 MURDERER. So I am, to let him live.

1 MURDERER. I'll back to the Duke of Gloucester, and
tell him so. 116

2 MURDERER. Nay, I prithee, stay a little : I hope my
holy humour will change ; it was wont to hold me but while
one tells twenty.

103. When . . . fool Qq | Why Ff.
113-114. Qq omit.

117-118. my . . . humour Qq | this
passionate humor of mine Ff.

1 MURDERER. How dost thou feel thyself now? 120

2 MURDERER. Faith, some certain dregs of conscience are yet within me.

1 MURDERER. Remember our reward, when the deed's done.

2 MURDERER. 'Zounds, he dies; I had forgot the reward.

1 MURDERER. Where's thy conscience now? 126

2 MURDERER. In the Duke of Gloucester's purse.

1 MURDERER. So, when he opens his purse to give us our reward, thy conscience flies out.

2 MURDERER. 'Tis no matter; let it go; there's few or none will entertain it. 131

1 MURDERER. What if it come to thee again?

2 MURDERER. I'll not meddle with it: it is a dangerous thing: it makes a man a coward: a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; a man cannot swear, but it checks him; a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him: 'tis a blushing shamefac'd spirit that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills one full of obstacles: it made me once restore a purse of gold, that by chance I found; it beggars any man that keeps it; it is turn'd out of all towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man that means to live well endeavours to trust to himself and live without it. 142

1 MURDERER. 'Zounds, it is even now at my elbow, persuading me not to kill the duke.

2 MURDERER. Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not; he would insinuate with thee but to make thee sigh.

125. 'Zounds Qq | Come Ff. 133-134. it . . . thing Qq | Ff omit.

143. 'Zounds, it is Qq | 'Tis Ff.

125. 'Zounds. Corrupted from 'God's wounds.' In 1606 a statute was passed forbidding irreverent language on the stage.

145. him. Refers to 'conscience' not to 'devil.'

1 MURDERER. I am strong-fram'd; he cannot prevail with me.

2 MURDERER. Spoke like a tall fellow that respects his reputation. Come, shall we fall to work? 150

1 MURDERER. Take him over the costard with the hilts of thy sword, and then throw him into the malmsey-butt in the next room.

2 MURDERER. O excellent device! and make a sop of him.

1 MURDERER. Soft! he wakes. 155

2 MURDERER. Strike!

1 MURDERER. No, we'll reason with him.

CLARENCE. [*Waking*] Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup of wine.

1 MURDERER. You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.

CLARENCE. In God's name, what art thou? 160

1 MURDERER. A man, as you are.

CLARENCE. But not, as I am, royal.

1 MURDERER. Nor you, as we are, loyal.

CLARENCE. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are humble.

1 MURDERER. My voice is now the king's, my looks mine own. 165

CLARENCE. How darkly and how deadly dost thou speak! Your eyes do menace me; why look you pale? Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

BOTH MURDERERS. To, to, to —

CLARENCE. To murder me? 170

BOTH MURDERERS. Ay, ay.

150. fall to work Ff | to this gear Qq.

152. throw him into Ff | we will chop him in Qq.

167. Your . . . pale Ff | Qq omit.

151. costard: head. A humorous use; properly a kind of apple.

157. reason: talk, converse. So in II, iii, 39; IV, iv, 533.

CLARENCE. You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so,
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.

Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

1 MURDERER. Offended us you have not, but the king

CLARENCE. I shall be reconcil'd to him again. 176

2 MURDERER. Never, my lord; therefore prepare to die.

CLARENCE. Are you call'd forth from out a world of men
To slay the innocent? What is my offence?

Where is the evidence that doth accuse me? 180

What lawful quest have given their verdict up

Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounc'd

The bitter sentence of poor Clarence' death?

Before I be convict by course of law,

To threaten me with death is most unlawful. 185

I charge you, as you hope to have redemption

By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,

That you depart, and lay no hands on me;

The deed you undertake is damnable. 189

1 MURDERER. What we will do, we do upon command.

2 MURDERER. And he that hath commanded is our king.

CLARENCE. Erroneous vassals! the great King of kings
Hath in the table of his law commanded

That thou shalt do no murder; will you, then,

Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's? 195

Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hand,

To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

178. call'd . . . out Qq | drawne that do Qq.
. . . among Ff. 186-187. to have . . . sins Qq | for
180. is . . . that doth Ff | are . . . any goodnesse Ff.

181. quest: jury of inquest, a body of jurymen. Clarence's execution was carried out only after trial and condemnation.

184. convict: convicted. Cf. 'graft,' III, vii, 127; 'acquit,' V, v, 3.

2 MURDERER. And that same vengeance doth he hurl on thee,

For false forswearing, and for murder too.

Thou didst receive the sacrament to fight 200

In quarrel of the house of Lancaster.

1 MURDERER. And, like a traitor to the name of God,
Didst break that vow ; and with thy treacherous blade
Unripp'dst the bowels of thy sovereign's son.

2 MURDERER. Whom thou wast sworn to cherish and defend. 205

1 MURDERER. How canst thou urge God's dreadful law to us,

When thou hast broke it in such dear degree ?

CLARENCE. Alas ! for whose sake did I that ill deed ?

For Edward, for my brother, for his sake.

He sends you not to murder me for this, 210

For in that sin he is as deep as I.

If God will be avenged for the deed,

O, know you yet, He doth it publicly :

Take not the quarrel from his powerful arm ;

He needs no indirect nor lawless course 215

To cut off those that have offended him.

1 MURDERER. Who made thee, then, a bloody minister,
When gallant-springing brave Plantagenet,
That princely novice, was struck dead by thee ?

CLARENCE. My brother's love, the devil, and my rage. 220

1 MURDERER. Thy brother's love, our duty, and thy fault,
Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

CLARENCE. If you do love my brother, hate not me ;

213. O . . . publicly Ff | Qq omit. 221. our duty Ff | the diuell Qq.

210. Before this line the Quartos insert ' Why, sirs.'

I am his brother, and I love him well.

If you are hir'd for meed, go back again, 225

And I will send you to my brother Gloucester,

Who shall reward you better for my life

Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

2 MURDERER. You are deceiv'd, your brother Gloucester
hates you.

CLARENCE. O, no, he loves me, and he holds me dear ; 230
Go you to him from me.

BOTH MURDERERS. Ay, so we will.

CLARENCE. Tell him, when that our princely father York
Bless'd his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charg'd us from his soul to love each other,
He little thought of this divided friendship. 235
Bid Gloucester think of this, and he will weep.

1 MURDERER. Ay, millstones ; as he lesson'd us to weep.

CLARENCE. O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

1 MURDERER. Right,
As snow in harvest. Come, you deceive yourself ; 240
'Tis he that sends us to destroy you here.

CLARENCE. It cannot be ; for he bewept my fortune,
And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore, with sobs,
That he would labour my delivery.

1 MURDERER. Why, so he doth, when he delivers you 245
From this earth's thralldom to the joys of heaven.

2 MURDERER. Make peace with God, for you must die,
my lord.

CLARENCE. Hast thou that holy feeling in thy soul,
To counsel me to make my peace with God,

234. And . . . other Qq | Ff omit.

242-243. for . . . And Ff | for when I parted from him He Qq.

And art thou yet to thy own soul so blind, 250
That thou wilt war with God by murdering me?

Ah, sirs, consider, he that set you on
To do this deed will hate you for the deed.

2 MURDERER. What shall we do?

CLARENCE. Relent, and save your souls.

1 MURDERER. Relent! 't is cowardly and womanish. 255

CLARENCE. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.

Which of you, if you were a prince's son,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,
If two such murderers as yourselves came to you,
Would not entreat for life? 260

My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks.

O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,

Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,

As you would beg, were you in my distress:

A begging prince what beggar pities not? 265

2 MURDERER. Look behind you, my lord.

1 MURDERER. Take that, and that: if all this will not do,
Stabs him

I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within.

Exit [with the body]

2 MURDERER. A bloody deed, and desperately dispatch'd!

How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands 270

Of this most grievous murder!

256-265. The present text is based on Tyrwhitt's famous arrangement of lines which are found partly in the First Quarto and partly in the Folios, and which, as originally printed, are obviously out of their regular order.

262. O . . . flatterer: unless your heart is more hardened than your eyes would lead me to believe.

268. malmsey-butt: cask of malmsey wine.

Re-enter 1 Murderer

1 MURDERER. How now! what mean'st thou, that thou
help'st me not?

By heaven, the duke shall know how slack thou art.

2 MURDERER. I would he knew that I had sav'd his
brother!

Take thou the fee, and tell him what I say; 275
For I repent me that the duke is slain. *Exit*

1 MURDERER. So do not I; go, coward as thou art.
Well, I'll go hide the body in some hole,
Till that the duke give order for his burial;
And when I have my meed, I will away, 280
For this will out, and then I must not stay. *Exit*

278. Well . . . the Ff Now must	Duke take Qq.
I hide his Qq.	280. will Ff must Qq.
279. Till . . . give Ff Until the	281. then Ff here Qq.

277-281. The Duke of Clarence was arraigned for treason before the Parliament, convicted, and sentence of death passed upon him. This was in February, 1478, and a few days later it was announced that he had died in the Tower. So that this first act of the play embraces a period of nearly seven years, the death of King Henry having occurred in May, 1471. The manner of Clarence's death has never been ascertained. It was generally attributed to the machinations of Richard. There was a fierce grudge between the two dukes, growing out of their rapacity towards the Warwick estates.

ACT II

SCENE I. [*London. The palace*]

Flourish. Enter KING EDWARD, *sick*, QUEEN ELIZABETH, DORSET, RIVERS, HASTINGS, BUCKINGHAM, WOODVILLE
[GREY, and others]

KING EDWARD. Why, so ; now have I done a good day's work ;

You peers, continue this united league.

I every day expect an embassy

From my Redeemer to redeem me hence ;

And now in peace my soul shall part to heaven, 5

Since I have made my friends at peace on earth.

Rivers and Hastings, take each other's hand ;

Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love.

RIVERS. By heaven, my soul is purg'd from grudging hate ;
And with my hand I seal my true heart's love. 10

HASTINGS. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like !

KING EDWARD. Take heed you dally not before your king ;
Lest he that is the supreme King of kings
Confound your hidden falsehood, and award
Either of you to be the other's end. 15

HASTINGS. So prosper I, as I swear perfect love !

RIVERS. And I, as I love Hastings with my heart !

6. made Ff | set Qq.

9. soul Ff | heart Qq.

5. part : depart. The shorter form is common in Shakespeare.

KING EDWARD. Madam, yourself are not exempt in this,
 Nor you, son Dorset, Buckingham, nor you ;
 You have been factious one against the other. 20
 Wife, love Lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand ;
 And what you do, do it unfeignedly.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. There, Hastings, I will never more
 remember
 Our former hatred, so thrive I and mine !

KING EDWARD. Dorset, embrace him ; Hastings, love
 lord marquess. 25

DORSET. This interchange of love, I here protest,
 Upon my part shall be inviolable.

HASTINGS. And so swear I, my lord. [*They embrace*]

KING EDWARD. Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou
 this league

With thy embracements to my wife's allies, 30
 And make me happy in your unity.

BUCKINGHAM. [*To the QUEEN*] Whenever Buckingham
 doth turn his hate

Upon your grace, but with all duteous love
 Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me
 With hate in those where I expect most love ! 35

When I have most need to employ a friend,
 And most assured that he is a friend,
 Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,
 Be he unto me ! this do I beg of God,
 When I am cold in zeal to you or yours. *They embrace* 40

KING EDWARD. A pleasing cordial, princely Buckingham,

25. Dorset . . . marquess Ff | Qq
 omit.

33. Upon . . . grace Ff | On you or
 yours Qq.

30. embracements. This form is common in Shakespeare.

Is this thy vow unto my sickly heart.
 There wanteth now our brother Gloucester here,
 To make the perfect period of this peace.

BUCKINGHAM. And, in good time, here comes the noble
 duke. 45

Enter GLOUCESTER

GLOUCESTER. Good morrow to my sovereign king and
 queen ;

And, princely peers, a happy time of day !

KING EDWARD. Happy, indeed, as we have spent the day.
 Brother, we have done deeds of charity ;
 Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate, 50
 Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.

GLOUCESTER. A blessed labour, my most sovereign liege.
 Among this princely heap, if any here,
 By false intelligence or wrong surmise, hold me
 A foe ; if I unwittingly, or in my rage, 55
 Have aught committed that is hardly borne
 By any in this presence, I desire
 To reconcile me to his friendly peace.
 'Tis death to me to be at enmity ;
 I hate it, and desire all good men's love. 60
 First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,
 Which I will purchase with my duteous service ;
 Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,
 If ever any grudge were lodg'd between us ;
 Of you, Lord Rivers, and, Lord Grey, of you, 65

45. the noble Qq | Sir Richard
 Ratcliffe and the Ff.

55. unwittingly Qq | unwillingly
 Ff.

53. heap : throng, gathering. Cf. *Julius Cæsar*, I, iii, 22-24.

That all without desert have frown'd on me ;
 Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen ; indeed, of all.
 I do not know that Englishman alive
 With whom my soul is any jot at odds
 More than the infant that is born to-night ; 70
 I thank my God for my humility.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. A holy day shall this be kept hereafter :
 I would to God all strifes were well compounded.
 My sovereign lord, I do beseech your highness
 To take our brother Clarence to your grace. 75

GLOUCESTER. Why, madam, have I off'red love for this.
 To be so flouted in this royal presence ?
 Who knows not that the gentle duke is dead ? *They all start*
 You do him injury to scorn his corse.

KING EDWARD. Who knows not he is dead ! who knows
 he is ? 80

QUEEN ELIZABETH. All-seeing heaven, what a world is this !

BUCKINGHAM. Look I so pale, Lord Dorset, as the rest ?

DORSET. Ay, my good lord ; and no one in this presence
 But his red colour hath forsook his cheeks. 84

KING EDWARD. Is Clarence dead ? the order was revers'd.

GLOUCESTER. But he, poor man, by your first order died,
 And that a winged Mercury did bear ;
 Some tardy cripple bore the countermand,
 That came too lag to see him buried.
 God grant that some, less noble and less loyal, 90
 Nearer in bloody thoughts, but not in blood,
 Deserve not worse than wretched Clarence did,
 And yet go current from suspicion !

66. The Folios add 'Of you Lord Woodvill, and Lord Scales of you.' Both titles belonged to Earl Rivers.

Enter STANLEY

STANLEY. A boon, my sovereign, for my service done!

KING EDWARD. I pray thee, peace; my soul is full of
sorrow. 95

STANLEY. I will not rise, unless your highness hear me.

KING EDWARD. Then speak at once what is it thou demand'st.

STANLEY. The forfeit, sovereign, of my servant's life;
Who slew to-day a riotous gentleman
Lately attendant on the Duke of Norfolk. 100

KING EDWARD. Have I a tongue to doom my brother's
death,

And shall that tongue give pardon to a slave?
My brother kill'd no man; his fault was thought,
And yet his punishment was bitter death.
Who sued to me for him? who, in my rage, 105
Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advis'd?
Who spoke of brotherhood? who spoke of love?
Who told me how the poor soul did forsake
The mighty Warwick, and did fight for me?
Who told me, in the field at Tewksbury, 110
When Oxford had me down, he rescued me,
And said, 'Dear brother, live, and be a king'?
Who told me, when we both lay in the field
Frozen almost to death, how he did lap me
Even in his own garments, and gave himself, 115
All thin and naked, to the numb cold night?

94. *Enter STANLEY.* Here as in I, iii, 17, the Quartos and Folios have 'Derby' (Darbie, etc.). The emendation is Theobald's.

98. *The forfeit:* the thing forfeited (his servant's life).

All this from my remembrance brutish wrath
 Sinfully pluck'd, and not a man of you
 Had so much grace to put it in my mind.
 But when your carters or your waiting-vassals 120
 Have done a drunken slaughter, and defac'd
 The precious image of our dear Redeemer,
 You straight are on your knees for pardon, pardon;
 And I, unjustly too, must grant it you.
 But for my brother not a man would speak, 125
 Nor I, ungracious, speak unto myself
 For him, poor soul. The proudest of you all
 Have been beholding to him in his life;
 Yet none of you would once plead for his life.
 O God, I fear thy justice will take hold 130
 On me and you, and mine and yours for this!
 Come, Hastings, help me to my closet. Ah,
 Poor Clarence!

Exeunt some with KING and QUEEN

GLOUCESTER. This is the fruit of rashness! Mark'd you
 not

How that the guilty kindred of the queen 135
 Look'd pale when they did hear of Clarence' death?
 O, they did urge it still unto the king!
 God will revenge it. But, come, let us in,
 To comfort Edward with our company.

BUCKINGHAM. We wait upon your grace. *Exeunt* 140

138. But . . . in Qq | Come Lords
will you go Ff.

140. We . . . grace Ff | Qq omit.

128. beholding: beholden. So in III, i, 107. See Murray.

SCENE II. [*The palace*]

Enter the old DUCHESS OF YORK, *with the two Children of*
CLARENCE

BOY. Good grandam, tell us, is our father dead?

DUCHESS. No, boy.

GIRL. Why do you weep so oft, and beat your breast,
And cry, 'O Clarence, my unhappy son!'

BOY. Why do you look on us, and shake your head, 5
And call us orphans, wretches, castaways,
If that our noble father be alive?

DUCHESS. My pretty cousins, you mistake me both;
I do lament the sickness of the king,
As loth to lose him, not your father's death; 10
It were lost sorrow to wail one that's lost.

BOY. Then, grandam, you conclude that he is dead.
The king my uncle is to blame for this:
God will revenge it; whom I will importune
With daily prayers all to that effect. 15

GIRL. And so will I.

DUCHESS. Peace, children, peace! the king doth love
you well.

3. GIRL | Daugh. Ff | Boy Qq.—weep
so oft, and Ff | wring your hands and Qq.

8. both Ff | much Qq.
16. And . . . I Ff | Qq omit.

1. *Enter the old* DUCHESS OF YORK. Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, and widow of Richard, Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield, 1460. She survived her husband thirty-five years, living till the year 1495.

8. *cousins*. The duchess is speaking to her grandchildren, 'cousin' being used for this relation as well as for 'nephew,' 'niece,' and 'kindred' generally.

Incapable and shallow innocents,
You cannot guess who caus'd your father's death.

BOY. Grandam, we can; for my good uncle Gloucester
Told me, the king, provok'd to 't by the queen, 21
Devis'd impeachments to imprison him:
And, when my uncle told me so, he wept,
And pitied me, and kindly kiss'd my cheek;
Bade me rely on him as on my father, 25
And he would love me dearly as his child.

DUCHESS. Ah, that deceit should steal such gentle shapes,
And with a virtuous vizard hide deep vice!
He is my son; ay, and therein my shame;
Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit. 30

BOY. Think you my uncle did dissemble, grandam?

DUCHESS. Ay, boy.

BOY. I cannot think it. Hark! what noise is this?

*Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, with her hair about her ears;
RIVERS and DORSET after her*

QUEEN ELIZABETH. O, who shall hinder me to wail and
weep,
To chide my fortune, and torment myself? 35
I'll join with black despair against my soul,
And to myself become an enemy.

24. pitied me Ff | hug'd me in his arme Qq. 28. deep vice Ff | foule guile.

18. Incapable: unconscious. Cf. *Hamlet*, IV, vii, 179: "As one incapable of her own distress."

28. vizard. Another form of 'visor.' "In the forms 'visard,' 'vizard,' the final 'd' is excrescent and unoriginal."—Skeat.

31. dissemble: act deceitfully. Cf. 'dissembling,' I, i, 19, and see note. Cf. also 'dissembler,' I, ii, 184.

DUCHESS. What means this scene of rude impatience?

QUEEN ELIZABETH. To make an act of tragic violence.

Edward, my lord, thy son, our king, is dead ! 40

Why grow the branches when the root is gone?

Why wither not the leaves that want their sap?

If you will live, lament ; if die, be brief,

That our swift-winged souls may catch the king's ;

Or, like obedient subjects, follow him 45

To his new kingdom of perpetual rest.

DUCHESS. Ah, so much interest have I in thy sorrow

As I had title in thy noble husband !

I have bewept a worthy husband's death,

And liv'd by looking on his images ; 50

But now two mirrors of his princely semblance

Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death,

And I for comfort have but one false glass,

That grieves me when I see my shame in him.

Thou art a widow ; yet thou art a mother, 55

And hast the comfort of thy children left thee ;

But death hath snatch'd my husband from mine arms,

And pluck'd two crutches from my feeble hands,

Clarence and Edward. O, what cause have I,

Thine being but a moiety of my grief, 60

To over-go thy complaints and drown thy cries !

41. when . . . gone Ff | now
the root is wither'd Qq.

42. that . . . sap Ff | the sap
being gone Qq.

46. perpetual rest Qq | nere-changing
night Ff.

58. hands Ff | limmes Qq.

61. complaints Qq | woes Ff.

38. scene. The metaphor is from the theater (cf. 'act,' line 39).
—impatience. The endings '-ience' and '-iance,' as well as '-ion,'
'-ian,' and '-ious,' are often dissyllabic. See Abbott, § 479.

50. images: children (who represented and resembled him).

Boy. Ah, aunt, you wept not for our father's death!
How can we aid you with our kindred tears?

GIRL. Our fatherless distress was left unmoan'd;
Your widow-dolour likewise be unwept! 65

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Give me no help in lamentation;
I am not barren to bring forth complaints;
All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
That I, being govern'd by the watery moon,
May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world! 70
Ah for my husband, for my dear lord Edward!

CHILDREN. Ah for our father, for our dear lord Clarence!

DUCHESS. Alas for both, both mine, Edward and Clarence!

QUEEN ELIZABETH. What stay had I but Edward? and
he's gone. 74

CHILDREN. What stay had we but Clarence? and he's gone.

DUCHESS. What stays had I but they? and they are gone.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Was never widow had so dear a loss!

CHILDREN. Were never orphans had so dear a loss!

DUCHESS. Was never mother had so dear a loss!

Alas, I am the mother of these griefs! 80

Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general.

She for an Edward weeps, and so do I;

I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she:

These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I;

I for an Edward weep, so do not they: 85

Alas, you three, on me, threefold distress'd,

Pour all your tears! I am your sorrow's nurse,

And I will pamper it with lamentations.

84-85. and . . . weep Qq | Ff omit.

68. **reduce**: lead back. The original (Latin) meaning. So in V, v, 36.

69. Cf. "the governess of floods": *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 103,

DORSET. Comfort, dear mother ; God is much displeas'd
That you take with unthankfulness his doing. 90

In common worldly things 't is call'd ungrateful
With dull unwillingness to repay a debt
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent ;
Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,
For it requires the royal debt it lent you. 95

RIVERS. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,
Of the young prince your son : send straight for him ;
Let him be crown'd ; in him your comfort lives.
Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,
And plant your joys in living Edward's throne. 100

Enter GLOUCESTER, BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS,
RATCLIFF [*and others*]

GLOUCESTER. Sister, have comfort : all of us have cause
To wail the dimming of our shining star ;
But none can cure their harms by wailing them.
Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy ;
I did not see your grace. Humbly on my knee 105
I crave your blessing.

DUCHESS. God bless thee ; and put meekness in thy breast,
Love, charity, obedience, and true duty !

GLOUCESTER. Amen ; [*Aside*] and make me die a good
old man !
That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing ; 110
I marvel that her grace did leave it out.

89-100. Comfort . . . throne Ff | Qq omit.

94. opposite : at enmity. Cf. IV, iv, 215, 402.

95. For : because. See note, I, i, 58.

104. cry you mercy : ask your pardon. So in IV, iv, 515 ; V, iii, 224.

BUCKINGHAM. You cloudy princes and heart-sorrowing
peers,

That bear this mutual heavy load of moan,

Now cheer each other in each other's love.

Though we have spent our harvest of this king, 115

We are to reap the harvest of his son.

The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,

But lately splinter'd, knit, and join'd together,

Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept.

Me seemeth good, that, with some little train, 120

Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fet

Hither to London, to be crown'd our king.

RIVERS. Why with some little train, my Lord of Buck-
ingham?

BUCKINGHAM. Marry, my lord, lest, by a multitude,

The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out; 125

Which would be so much the more dangerous,

By how much the estate is green and yet ungovern'd.

Where every horse bears his commanding rein,

And may direct his course as please himself,

117. hearts Qq | hates Ff.

123-140. Qq omit.

113. mutual heavy load: burden pressing on all alike.

117-119. Your hearts have been swollen high with rancor, but the rancor has been broken out of them; and as the broken parts have been but lately secured by splints and knit and joined together, so the union must be gently preserved.

121. fet. An old past form of 'fetch.' Cf. *Henry I*, III, i, 18. Prince Edward, as Prince of Wales, was in fact living at this time under the governance of his maternal uncle, the Earl of Rivers, at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire, close to the Welsh border.

127. estate: state, commonwealth. Cf. Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, I, vii, 33: "Then should people and Estates be happy when either Kings were Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings."

As well the fear of harm as harm apparent, 130
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.

GLOUCESTER. I hope the king made peace with all of us;
And the compact is firm and true in me.

RIVERS. And so in me; and so, I think, in all:
Yet, since it is but green, it should be put 135
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which haply by much company might be urg'd.
Therefore I say with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

HASTINGS. And so say I. 140

GLOUCESTER. Then be it so; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow.
Madam, and you, my mother, will you go
To give your censures in this weighty business?

QUEEN ELIZABETH. } With all our hearts. 145
DUCHESS. }

Exeunt all but BUCKINGHAM and GLOUCESTER

BUCKINGHAM. My lord, whoever journeys to the prince,
For God's sake, let not us two stay at home;
For, by the way, I'll sort occasion,
As index to the story we late talk'd of,
To part the queen's proud kindred from the prince. 150

GLOUCESTER. My other self, my counsel's consistory,
My oracle, my prophet! my dear cousin.

I, as a child, will go by thy direction.

Towards Ludlow then, for we'll not stay behind. *Exeunt*

142, 154. Ludlow Qq | London Ff.

144. weighty Qq | Ff omit.

130. apparent: evident, manifest. So in line 136; III, v, 29, etc.

144. censures: judgments, opinions. Cf. *Macbeth*, V, iv, 14.

148. sort: arrange, cause to fall out. (Latin *sors*, 'lot.')

149. index: table of contents. So in IV, iv, 85.

SCENE III. [*London. A street*]*Enter one Citizen at one door, and another at the other*

1 CITIZEN. Good morrow, neighbour; whither away so fast?

2 CITIZEN. I promise you I scarcely know myself.
Hear you the news abroad?

1 CITIZEN. Yes; that the king is dead.

2 CITIZEN. Ill news, by 'r lady; seldom comes the better:
I fear, I fear 't will prove a giddy world. 5

Enter another Citizen

3 CITIZEN. Neighbours, God speed!

1 CITIZEN. Give you good morrow, sir.

3 CITIZEN. Doth the news hold of good King Edward's death?

2 CITIZEN. Ay, sir, it is too true; God help the while!

3 CITIZEN. Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.

1 CITIZEN. No, no; by God's good grace his son shall reign. 10

3 CITIZEN. Woe to that land that's govern'd by a child!

2 CITIZEN. In him there is a hope of government,
That in his nonage, council under him,
And, in his full and ripened years himself,
No doubt, shall then and till then govern well. 15

1. Good morrow, neighbour Ff |
Neighbour, well met Qq.

4. Ill Ff | Bad Qq.
9. troublous Q1 | giddy Ff.

11. An adaptation of *Ecclesiastes*, x, 16.

13-15. That, till he comes of age, his council and, in his riper years, he himself shall govern well.

1 CITIZEN. So stood the state when Henry the Sixth
Was crown'd in Paris, but at nine months old.

3 CITIZEN. Stood the state so? No, no, good friends,
God wot;
For then this land was famously enrich'd
With politic grave counsel; then the king 20
Had virtuous uncles to protect his grace.

1 CITIZEN. Why, so hath this, both by his father and mother.

3 CITIZEN. Better it were they all came by his father,
Or by his father there were none at all;
For emulation now, who shall be nearest, 25
Will touch us all too near, if God prevent not.
O, full of danger is the Duke of Gloucester!
And the queen's sons and brothers haught and proud;
And, were they to be rul'd, and not to rule,
This sickly land might solace as before. 30

1 CITIZEN. Come, come, we fear the worst; all will be well.

3 CITIZEN. When clouds are seen, wise men put on their
cloaks;
When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand;
When the sun sets, who doth not look for night?
Untimely storms make men expect a dearth. 35
All may be well; but, if God sort it so,
'Tis more than we deserve, or I expect.

2 CITIZEN. Truly, the hearts of men are full of fear:
You cannot reason almost with a man
That looks not heavily and full of dread. 40

32. are seen Ff | appear Qq.

Ff | dread Qs.

38. hearts Ff | Souls Qq. — fear

40. dread Ff | fear Qq.

30. solace: take solace. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, v, 47.

36. sort. See note, II, ii, 147. Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 132.

3 CITIZEN. Before the days of change, still is it so.
 By a divine instinct men's minds mistrust
 Ensuing danger ; as, by proof, we see
 The waters swell before a boisterous storm.
 But leave it all to God. Whither away? 45

2 CITIZEN. Marry, we were sent for to the justices.

3 CITIZEN. And so was I ; I'll bear you company.

Exeunt

SCENE IV. [*London. The palace*]

*Enter the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, the young DUKE OF YORK,
 QUEEN ELIZABETH, and the DUCHESS OF YORK*

ARCHBISHOP. Last night, I hear, they lay at Northampton ;
 At Stony-Stratford will they be to-night ;
 To-morrow or next day they will be here.

DUCHESS. I long with all my heart to see the prince :
 I hope he is much grown since last I saw him. 5

QUEEN ELIZABETH. But I hear no ; they say my son of
 York

Has almost overta'en him in his growth.

YORK. Ay, mother ; but I would not have it so.

DUCHESS. Why, my young cousin, it is good to grow.

YORK. Grandam, one night as we did sit at supper, 10
 My uncle Rivers talk'd how I did grow
 More than my brother ; ' Ay,' quoth my uncle Gloucester,
 ' Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace.'
 And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,
 Because sweet flowers are slow, and weeds make haste. 15

DUCHESS. Good faith, good faith, the saying did not hold
In him that did object the same to thee;
He was the wretched'st thing when he was young,
So long a-growing and so leisurely
That, if his rule were true, he should be gracious. 20

ARCHBISHOP. And so, no doubt, he is, my gracious madam.

DUCHESS. I hope he is; but yet let mothers doubt.

YORK. Now, by my troth, if I had been remember'd,
I could have given my uncle's grace a flout,
To touch his growth nearer than he touch'd mine. 25

DUCHESS. How, my young York? I pray thee, let me hear it.

YORK. Marry, they say my uncle grew so fast
That he could gnaw a crust at two hours old;
'T was full two years ere I could get a tooth.
Grandam, this would have been a biting jest. 30

DUCHESS. I pray thee, pretty York, who told thee this?

YORK. Grandam, his nurse.

DUCHESS. His nurse! why, she was dead ere thou wast born.

YORK. If 't were not she, I cannot tell who told me.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. A parlous boy! Go to, you are too
shrewd. 35

ARCHBISHOP. Good madam, be not angry with the child.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Pitchers have ears.

ARCHBISHOP. Here comes a messenger.

Enter a Messenger

What news?

MESSENGER. Such news, my lord, as grieves me to report.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. How doth the prince?

25. young Ff | pretty Qq. 39. report Ff | unfold Qq.

35. parlous. A popular corruption of 'perilous.' Cf. III, i, 154.

MESSINGER. Well, madam, and in health.

DUCHESS. What is thy news, then? 41

MESSINGER. Lord Rivers and Lord Grey are sent to
Pomfret,

With them Sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.

DUCHESS. Who hath committed them?

MESSINGER. The mighty dukes
Gloucester and Buckingham.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. For what offence? 45

MESSINGER. The sum of all I can I have disclos'd:
Why or for what these nobles were committed
Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Ah me, I see the downfall of our
house!

The tiger now hath seized the gentle hind; 50
Insulting tyranny begins to jet
Upon the innocent and aweless throne:
Welcome, destruction, blood, and massacre!
I see, as in a map, the end of all.

DUCHESS. Accursed and unquiet wrangling days, 55
How many of you have mine eyes beheld!
My husband lost his life to get the crown;
And often up and down my sons were toss'd,
For me to joy and weep their gain and loss:
And, being seated, and domestic broils 60
Clean over-blown, themselves, the conquerors,

48. lady Qq | Lord Ff.

51. jet Qq | jut Ff.

52. aweless Ff | lawless Qq.

53. blood Ff | death Qq.

51-52. jet Upon: encroach on. Cf. *Titus Andronicus*, II, i, 63-64:
"and think you not how dangerous It is to jet upon a prince's
right?" aweless: not looked upon with awe, unreverenced.

Make war upon themselves ; brother to brother,
Blood to blood, self against self : O, preposterous
And frantic outrage, end thy damned spleen ;
Or let me die, to look on death no more ! 65

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Come, come, my boy ; we will to
sanctuary.

Madam, farewell.

DUCHESS. Stay, I will go with you.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. You have no cause.

ARCHBISHOP. [*To the QUEEN*] My gracious lady, go ;
And thither bear your treasure and your goods.
For my part, I 'll resign unto your grace 70
The seal I keep ; and so betide to me
As well I tender you and all of yours !
Come, I 'll conduct you to the sanctuary. *Exeunt*

62. brother to brother Ff | Qq omit. 65. death Qq | earth Ff.

71-73. *The seal I keep.* The archbishop, as lord chancellor, was the keeper of the great seal. — *betide*: may it happen. Shakespeare here follows closely the narrative in Hall's *Chronicle*: "Whereupon the bishop called up all his servants and took with him the great seal, and came before day to the queen, about whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste, business, conveyance and carriage of her stuff into sanctuary."

72. *tender*: regard, care for. See note, I. i, 44.

ACT III

SCENE I. [*London. A street*]

The trumpets sound. Enter the Young PRINCE, the DUKES OF GLOUCESTER and BUCKINGHAM, CARDINAL [BOURCHIER, CATESBY] and others

BUCKINGHAM. Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to your chamber.

GLOUCESTER. Welcome, dear cousin, my thoughts' sovereign ;

The weary way hath made you melancholy.

PRINCE. No, uncle ; but our crosses on the way
Have made it tedious, wearisome, and heavy ; 5
I want more uncles here to welcome me.

GLOUCESTER. Sweet prince, th' untainted virtue of your
years

Hath not yet div'd into the world's deceit ;
Nor more can you distinguish of a man
Than of his outward show ; which, God he knows, 10

9. Nor Q1Q2 | No Ff.

1. *Enter . . .* BOURCHIER. Thomas Bouchier was made a cardinal and elected Archbishop of Canterbury in 1464. He died in 1486.

1. *chamber.* London was anciently called *camera regis*, 'the king's chamber.' Thus in Buckingham's speech to the citizens as given by More : "The prince, by this noble citie as his speciall chamber, and the speciall well renowned citie of this realme, much honourable fame receiveth among all other nations."

Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart.

Those uncles which you want were dangerous;

Your grace attended to their sugar'd words,

But look'd not on the poison of their hearts :

God keep you from them, and from such false friends ! 15

PRINCE. God keep me from false friends ! but they were
none.

GLOUCESTER. My lord, the mayor of London comes to
greet you.

Enter the LORD MAYOR [and his Train]

MAYOR. God bless your grace with health and happy days !

PRINCE. I thank you, good my lord ; and thank you all.

[MAYOR and his train retire]

I thought my mother and my brother York 20

Would long ere this have met us on the way ;

Fie, what a slug is Hastings, that he comes not

To tell us whether they will come or no !

BUCKINGHAM. And in good time here comes the sweating
lord.

Enter LORD HASTINGS

PRINCE. Welcome, my lord ; what, will our mother come ?

HASTINGS. On what occasion, God he knows, not I, 26

The queen your mother, and your brother York,

Have taken sanctuary ; the tender prince

Would fain have come with me to meet your grace,

But by his mother was perforce withheld. 30

11. *jumpeth* : agrees. Cf. *1 Henry IV*, I, ii, 78. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, I, i, 195, the verb is used absolutely. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, V, i, 259 : "till each circumstance . . . do cohere and jump that I am Viola."

BUCKINGHAM. Fie, what an indirect and peevish course
 Is this of hers! Lord cardinal, will your grace
 Persuade the queen to send the Duke of York
 Unto his princely brother presently?
 If she deny, Lord Hastings, go with him, 35
 And from her jealous arms pluck him perforce.

CARDINAL. My Lord of Buckingham, if my weak oratory
 Can from his mother win the Duke of York,
 Anon expect him here; but, if she be obdurate
 To mild entreaties, God in heaven forbid 40
 We should infringe the holy privilege
 Of blessed sanctuary! not for all this land
 Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.

BUCKINGHAM. You are too senseless-obstinate, my lord,
 Too ceremonious and traditional; 45
 Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,
 You break not sanctuary in seizing him.
 The benefit thereof is always granted
 To those whose dealings have deserv'd the place,
 And those who have the wit to claim the place. 50
 This prince hath neither claim'd it nor deserv'd it;
 And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it:
 Then, taking him from thence that is not there,
 You break no privilege nor charter there.
 Oft have I heard of sanctuary men; 55
 But sanctuary children ne'er till now.

40. in heaven Q1Q2 | Ff omit. 43. deep Q1Q2 | great Ff.

52. And QqF1 | F2F3F4 omit.

45. ceremonious: tenacious of formalities, scrupulous about forms.
 — traditional: influenced by tradition, adherent to old customs.

46. Weigh . . . age: you judge the matter only in accordance with
 the coarse way of looking at things nowadays.

CARDINAL. My lord, you shall o'er-rule my mind for once.
Come on, Lord Hastings, will you go with me?

HASTINGS. I go, my lord.

PRINCE. Good lords, make all the speedy haste you may.

Exeunt CARDINAL and HASTINGS

Say, uncle Gloucester, if our brother come, 61
Where shall we sojourn till our coronation?

GLOUCESTER. Where it seems best unto your royal self.
If I may counsel you, some day or two
Your highness shall repose you at the Tower; 65
Then where you please, and shall be thought most fit
For your best health and recreation.

PRINCE. I do not like the Tower, of any place.
Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord?

BUCKINGHAM. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place;
Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified. 71

PRINCE. Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?

BUCKINGHAM. Upon record, my gracious lord.

PRINCE. But say, my lord, it were not regist'ed, 75
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 't were retail'd to all posterity,
Even to the general all-ending day.

GLOUCESTER. [*Aside*] So wise so young, they say, do never
live long.

PRINCE. What say you, uncle? 80

GLOUCESTER. I say, without characters, fame lives long.

77. retail'd: recounted, repeated. So in IV, iv, 334. Minsheu, in his *Dictionary* (1617), besides the verb 'retail,' in the mercantile sense, has the verb 'retaile,' 'retell.'

81. characters: written records. The word is accented here on the second syllable.

[*Aside*] Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.

PRINCE. That Julius Cæsar was a famous man;
With what his valour did enrich his wit, 85
His wit set down to make his valour live.

Death makes no conquest of this conqueror;
For now he lives in fame, though not in life.
I'll tell you what, my cousin Buckingham, —

BUCKINGHAM. What, my gracious lord? 90

PRINCE. And if I live until I be a man,

91. And if QqFf | An if Theobald.

82. *the formal vice.* The part of the Vice in the old moral plays appears to have been on all occasions much the same, consisting in a given round, or set form, of action; hence, probably, the epithet 'formal' as here applied. The following is Gifford's description of him: "He appears to have been a perfect counterpart of the harlequin of the modern stage, and had a twofold office, — to instigate the hero of the piece to wickedness, and at the same time to protect him from the Devil, whom he was permitted to buffet and baffle with his wooden sword, till the process of the story required that both the protector and the protected should be carried off by the fiend; or the latter driven roaring from the stage, by some miraculous interposition in favour of the repentant offender." Cf. *Twelfth Night*, IV, ii, 134.

83. *I moralize . . . one word.* Heath explains as follows: "Thus my moralities, or the sententious expressions I have just uttered, resemble those of the Vice, Iniquity, in the play; the indecencies which lie at the bottom are sheltered from exception and the indignation they would excite if nakedly delivered, under the ambiguity of a double meaning. . . . The term 'moralize' is only introduced in allusion to the title of our old dramatic pieces, which were commonly called 'Moralities,' in which the Vice was always one of the shining characters." As the Vice acted the part of a buffoon or jester, he was wont "to deal largely in double meanings, and by the help of them to aim at cracking a jest or raising a laugh."

86. The reference is to Cæsar's *Commentaries*.

I'll win our ancient right in France again,
Or die a soldier, as I lived a king.

GLOUCESTER. [*Aside*] Short summers lightly have a forward spring.

Enter young YORK, HASTINGS, and the CARDINAL

BUCKINGHAM. Now, in good time, here comes the Duke of York. 95

PRINCE. Richard of York! how fares our loving brother?

YORK. Well, my dread lord; so must I call you now.

PRINCE. Ay, brother, to our grief, as it is yours.

Too late he died that might have kept that title,

Which by his death hath lost much majesty. 100

GLOUCESTER. How fares our cousin, noble Lord of York?

YORK. I thank you, gentle uncle. O, my lord,

You said that idle weeds are fast in growth;

The prince my brother hath outgrown me far.

GLOUCESTER. He hath, my lord.

YORK. And therefore is he idle?

GLOUCESTER. O, my fair cousin, I must not say so. 106

YORK. Then is he more beholding to you than I.

GLOUCESTER. He may command me as my sovereign,

But you have power in me as in a kinsman.

YORK. I pray you, uncle, give me this dagger. 110

GLOUCESTER. My dagger, little cousin? with all my heart.

PRINCE. A beggar, brother?

97. dread Q₁ | deare Ff.

94. lightly: commonly, often. So in an old proverb preserved by Ray: "There's lightning lightly before thunder."

99. late: lately, recently. It is too short a time since his death, not to be 'to our grief, as it is yours.'

YORK. Of my kind uncle, that I know will give ;
And being but a toy, which is no grief to give.

GLOUCESTER. A greater gift than that I'll give my cousin.

YORK. A greater gift ! O, that 's the sword to it. 116

GLOUCESTER. Ay, gentle cousin, were it light enough.

YORK. O, then, I see you will part but with light gifts ;
In weightier things you'll say a beggar nay.

GLOUCESTER. It is too heavy for your grace to wear. 120

YORK. I'd weigh it lightly, were it heavier.

GLOUCESTER. What, would you have my weapon, little lord ?

YORK. I would, that I might thank you, as you call me.

GLOUCESTER. How ?

YORK. Little. 125

PRINCE. My Lord of York will still be cross in talk.
Uncle, your grace knows how to bear with him.

YORK. You mean, to bear me, not to bear with me.
Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me ;
Because that I am little, like an ape, 130
He thinks that you should bear me on your shoulders.

BUCKINGHAM. [*Aside to HASTINGS*] With what a sharp-
provided wit he reasons !
To mitigate the scorn he gives his uncle,
He prettily and aptly taunts himself.
So cunning and so young is wonderful. 135

121. I'd Hanmer | I QqFf.

121. weigh it lightly : consider it a trifling gift.

126. will still be : always insists on being. — cross : at cross purposes.

130-131. ape . . . shoulders. York alludes to the hump on Gloucester's back, which was commodious for carrying burdens. Cf. Ulpian Fulwell's *Ars Adulandi* (1576) : "Thou hast an excellent back to carry my lord's ape."

132. sharp-provided : keen. — reasons : talks. As in I, iv, 165.

GLOUCESTER. My lord, will 't please you pass along ?
 Myself and my good cousin Buckingham
 Will to your mother, to entreat of her
 To meet you at the Tower and welcome you.

YORK. What will you go unto the Tower, my lord? 140

PRINCE. My lord protector needs will have it so.

YORK. I shall not sleep in quiet at the Tower.

GLOUCESTER. Why, what should you fear?

YORK. Marry, my uncle Clarence' angry ghost ;
 My grandam told me he was murder'd there. 145

PRINCE. I fear no uncles dead.

GLOUCESTER. Nor none that live, I hope.

PRINCE. And if they live, I hope I need not fear.
 But come, my lord ; and with a heavy heart,
 Thinking on them, go I unto the Tower. 150

*A Sennet. Exeunt all but GLOUCESTER, BUCKING-
 HAM and CATESBY*

BUCKINGHAM. Think you, my lord, this little prating York
 Was not incensed by his subtle mother
 To taunt and scorn you thus opprobriously ?

GLOUCESTER. No doubt, no doubt : O, 't is a parlous boy ;
 Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable ; 155
 He 's all the mother's, from the top to toe.

BUCKINGHAM. Well, let them rest. Come hither, Catesby.
 Thou art sworn as deeply to effect what we intend
 As closely to conceal what we impart.
 Thou know'st our reasons urg'd upon the way ; 160

141. needs Q1 | Q2Ff omit.

148. And QqFf | An Theobald.

150. *Sennet* : flourish of notes on a trumpet.

152. *incensed* : instigated. Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, V, i, 242.

What think'st thou? is it not an easy matter
 To make William Lord Hastings of our mind,
 For the instalment of this noble duke
 In the seat royal of this famous isle?

CATESBY. He for his father's sake so loves the prince 165
 That he will not be won to aught against him.

BUCKINGHAM. What think'st thou then of Stanley? will
 not he?

CATESBY. He will do all in all as Hastings doth.

BUCKINGHAM. Well, then no more but this: go, gentle
 Catesby,

And, as it were far off, sound thou Lord Hastings, 170
 How he doth stand affected to our purpose;
 And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
 To sit about the coronation.

If thou dost find him tractable to us,
 Encourage him, and show him all our reasons: 175
 If he be leaden, icy-cold, unwilling,
 Be thou so too; and so break off your talk,
 And give us notice of his inclination;
 For we to-morrow hold divided councils,
 Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd. 180

GLOUCESTER. Commend me to Lord William: tell him,
 Catesby,

His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries
 To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret Castle;
 And bid my friend, for joy of this good news,
 Give Mistress Shore one gentle kiss the more. 185

BUCKINGHAM. Good Catesby, go, effect this business soundly.

167. will not Ff | what will Qq.

172-173. Qq omit.

179. divided. Two separate meetings were held.

CATESBY. My good lords both, with all the heed I can.

GLOUCESTER. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep?

CATESBY. You shall, my lord.

GLOUCESTER. At Crosby Place, there shall you find us both.

Exit CATESBY

BUCKINGHAM. Now, my lord, what shall we do, if we perceive

191

Lord Hastings will not yield to our complots?

GLOUCESTER. Chop off his head, man; somewhat we will do.

And, look, when I am king, claim thou of me

Th' earldom of Hereford, and the movables

195

Whereof the king my brother stood possess'd.

BUCKINGHAM. I'll claim that promise at your grace's hand.

GLOUCESTER. And look to have it yielded with all kindness.

Come, let us sup betimes, that afterwards

We may digest our complots in some form. *Exeunt* 200

SCENE II. *Before LORD HASTINGS' house*

Enter a Messenger

MESSENGER. [*Knocking*] My lord! my lord!

HASTINGS. [*Within*] Who knocks?

MESSENGER. One from the Lord Stanley.

HASTINGS. [*Within*] What is 't o'clock?

MESSENGER. Upon the stroke of four. 5

Enter LORD HASTINGS

HASTINGS. Cannot thy master sleep these tedious nights?

MESSENGER. So it appears by that I have to say.

First, he commends him to your noble self.

HASTINGS. What then?

MESSENGER. Then certifies your lordship, that this night 10
He dreamt the boar had razed off his helm;
Besides, he says there are two councils held,
And that may be determin'd at the one
Which may make you and him to rue at th' other.
Therefore he sends to know your lordship's pleasure, 15
If presently you will take horse with him,
And with all speed post with him toward the north,
To shun the danger that his soul divines.

HASTINGS. Go, fellow, go, return unto thy lord;
Bid him not fear the separated councils: 20
His honour and myself are at the one,
And at the other is my good friend Catesby;
Where nothing can proceed that toucheth us
Whereof I shall not have intelligence.
Tell him his fears are shallow, wanting instance; 25
And for his dreams, I wonder he's so fond
To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers.
To fly the boar before the boar pursues
Were to incense the boar to follow us,
And make pursuit where he did mean no chase. 30
Go, bid thy master rise and come to me;

10-11. Then . . . dreamt Ff | And then he sends you word He dreamt Qq

11. **razed**: pulled away violently. The original meaning of the verb is 'scratch,' 'scrape,' and the usual sense of 'demolish' comes from the idea of scraping out thoroughly. Cf. III, iv, 81.

25. **wanting instance**: groundless, without any motive. Cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, II, ii, 254-257: "Now, could I come to her with any detection in my hand, my desires had instance and argument to commend themselves."

26. **fond**: foolish. Usually so. Cf. 'fondly,' III, vii, 147.

And we will both together to the Tower,
Where he shall see the boar will use us kindly.

MESSENGER. I'll go, my lord, and tell him what you say.

Exit

Enter CATESBY

CATESBY. Many good morrows to my noble lord! 35

HASTINGS. Good morrow, Catesby; you are early stirring.
What news, what news, in this our tott'ring state?

CATESBY. It is a reeling world, indeed, my lord;
And I believe will never stand upright
Till Richard wear the garland of the realm. 40

HASTINGS. How! wear the garland! dost thou mean the
crown?

CATESBY. Ay, my good lord.

HASTINGS. I'll have this crown of mine cut from my
shoulders

Before I'll see the crown so foul misplac'd.
But canst thou guess that he doth aim at it? 45

CATESBY. Ay, on my life; and hopes to find you forward
Upon his party for the gain thereof;
And thereupon he sends you this good news,
That this same very day your enemies,
The kindred of the queen, must die at Pomfret. 50

HASTINGS. Indeed, I am no mourner for that news,
Because they have been still my adversaries;
But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,
To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows I will not do it, to the death. 55

33. boar. Richard, whose crest was a boar. An old meaning of
'kindly' is 'after his kind,' i.e. according to his nature.

CATESBY. God keep your lordship in that gracious mind !

HASTINGS. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month hence,
That they who brought me in my master's hate,
I live to look upon their tragedy.

Well, Catesby, ere a fortnight make me older, 60
I'll send some packing that yet think not on't.

CATESBY. 'T is a vile thing to die, my gracious lord,
When men are unprepar'd and look not for it.

HASTINGS. O monstrous, monstrous ! and so falls it out
With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey ; and so 't will do 65
With some men else, that think themselves as safe
As thou and I ; who, as thou know'st, are dear
To princely Richard and to Buckingham.

CATESBY. The princes both make high account of you,
[*Aside*] For they account his head upon the bridge. 70

HASTINGS. I know they do ; and I have well deserv'd it.

Enter LORD STANLEY

Come on, come on ; where is your boar-spear, man ?
Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided ?

STANLEY. My lord, good morrow ; good morrow, Catesby.
You may jest on, but, by the holy rood, 75
I do not like these several councils, I.

HASTINGS. My lord, I hold my life as dear as you do yours ;
And never in my days, I do protest,
Was it more precious to me than 't is now.

77. you do Qq | Ff omit.

70. upon the bridge : on London Bridge (i.e. as a traitor).

75. rood : cross, crucifix. Often thus in petty oaths. Cf. IV, iv, 165.

76. several : separate. Often so. Cf. *The Tempest*, III, i, 42.

Think you, but that I know our state secure, 80
I would be so triumphant as I am?

STANLEY. The lords at Pomfret, when they rode from
London,
Were jocund, and suppos'd their states were sure;
And they, indeed, had no cause to mistrust;
But yet, you see, how soon the day o'ercast. 85
This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt;
Pray God, I say, I prove a needless coward!
What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent.

HASTINGS. Come, come, have with you. Wot you what,
my lord?
To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded. 90

STANLEY. They, for their truth, might better wear their
heads
Than some that have accus'd them wear their hats.
But come, my lord, let us away.

Enter a Pursuivant

HASTINGS. Go on before; I'll talk with this good fellow.

Exeunt STANLEY and CATESBY

How now, sirrah! how goes the world with thee? 95

PURSUIVANT. The better that your lordship please to ask.

HASTINGS. I tell thee, man, 't is better with me now
Than when thou met'st me last where now we meet:
Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,
By the suggestion of the queen's allies; 100
But now, I tell thee — keep it to thyself —

87. prove a needless coward: needlessly prove a coward.

92. wear their hats: hold their offices.

94. A 'pursuivant' was a state messenger or herald.

This day those enemies are put to death,
And I in better state than e'er I was.

PURSUIVANT. God hold it, to your honour's good content !

HASTINGS. Gramercy, fellow. There, drink that for me.

Throws him his purse

PURSUIVANT. God save your lordship ! *Exit* 106

Enter a Priest

PRIEST. Well met, my lord ; I am glad to see your honour.

HASTINGS. I thank thee, good Sir John, with all my heart.

I am in your debt for your last exercise ;

Come the next Sabbath, and I will content you. 110

Enter BUCKINGHAM

BUCKINGHAM. What, talking with a priest, lord chamberlain ?
Your friends at Pomfret, they do need the priest ;
Your honour hath no shriving work in hand.

HASTINGS. Good faith, and when I met this holy man,
The men you talk of came into my mind. 115
What, go you toward the Tower ?

BUCKINGHAM. I do, my lord, but long I cannot stay there ;
I shall return before your lordship thence.

HASTINGS. Nay, like enough, for I stay dinner there.

BUCKINGHAM. [*Aside*] And supper too, although thou
know'st it not. 120

Come, will you go ?

HASTINGS. I'll wait upon your lordship. *Exeunt*

105. Gramercy : great thanks (French *grand merci*).

108. 'Sir' was in common use as a clerical title.

109. exercise : religious duty. Cf. III, vii, 64.

113. shriving work : confession. Cf. 'shrift,' III, iv, 95.

SCENE III. *Pomfret. [Before the castle]*

Enter SIR RICHARD RATCLIFF, *with halberds carrying*
RIVERS, GREY, *and* VAUGHAN *to death*

RIVERS. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell thee this,
To-day shalt thou behold a subject die
For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

GREY. God keep the prince from all the pack of you !
A knot you are of damned blood-suckers. 5

VAUGHAN. You live that shall cry woe for this hereafter.

RATCLIFF. Dispatch ; the limit of your lives is out.

RIVERS. O Pomfret, Pomfret ! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers !
Within the guilty closure of thy walls 10
Richard the Second here was hack'd to death ;
And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

GREY. Now Margaret's curse is fall'n upon our heads,
When she exclaim'd on Hastings, you, and I, 15
For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son.

RIVERS. Then curs'd she Richard, then curs'd she Bucking-
ham,
Then curs'd she Hastings. O, remember, God,
To hear her prayers for them, as now for us !
And, for my sister and her princely sons, 20
Be satisfied, dear God, with our true blood,
Which, as thou know'st, unjustly must be spilt.

15. When . . . I Ff | Qq omit.

1. The Quartos begin the scene with a speech by Ratcliff : "Come, bring forth the prisoners."

RATCLIFF. Make haste ; the hour of death is expiate.

RIVERS. Come, Grey, come, Vaughan, let us here embrace ;
Farewell, until we meet again in heaven. [Exeunt] 25

SCENE IV. [*The Tower of London*]

Enter BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS, *the* BISHOP OF ELY, RATCLIFF, LOVEL, *with others*, [*and take their seats*] *at a table*

HASTINGS. Now, noble peers, the cause why we are met
Is, to determine of the coronation.

In God's name, speak ; when is the royal day ?

BUCKINGHAM. Is all things ready for that royal time ?

STANLEY. It is, and wants but nomination. 5

ELY. To-morrow, then, I judge a happy day.

BUCKINGHAM. Who knows the lord protector's mind herein ?
Who is most inward with the noble duke ?

ELY. Your grace, we think, should soonest know his mind.

BUCKINGHAM. We know each other's faces: for our hearts,

1. Now . . . peers Ff | My lords,
at once Qq.

4. Is . . . ready Ff | Are . . . fit-
ting Qq.

23. *expiate*: finished, fully come. See Murray on '-ate.'

1. BISHOP OF ELY. Dr. John Morton was elected to the see of Ely in 1478. He was advanced to the see of Canterbury in 1486, and appointed Lord Chancellor in 1487. He devised the scheme of putting an end to the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster by a marriage between Henry, Earl of Richmond, and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV.

5. *wants but nomination*: only requires to be named.

8. *inward with*: intimate with, in the confidence of.

10. The Quartos preface this speech with "Who, I, my lord?"

He knows no more of mine than I of yours ; 11
Or I of his, my lord, than you of mine.
Lord Hastings, you and he are near in love.

HASTINGS. I thank his grace, I know he loves me well ;
But, for his purpose in the coronation, 15
I have not sounded him, nor he deliver'd
His gracious pleasure any way therein :
But you, my noble lords, may name the time ;
And in the duke's behalf I'll give my voice,
Which, I presume, he'll take in gentle part. 20

Enter GLOUCESTER

ELY. In happy time, here comes the duke himself.

GLOUCESTER. My noble lords and cousins all, good morrow.
I have been long a sleeper ; but, I trust,
My absence doth neglect no great design,
Which by my presence might have been concluded. 25

BUCKINGHAM. Had you not come upon your cue, my lord,
William Lord Hastings had pronounc'd your part, —
I mean your voice, — for crowning of the king.

GLOUCESTER. Than my Lord Hastings no man might be
bolder ;
His lordship knows me well, and loves me well. 30
My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there ;
I do beseech you send for some of them.

26. cue. For other metaphors from the stage cf. IV, iv, 68, 91.

29-33. This easy affability and smoothness of humor when going about the blackest and bloodiest crimes is one of the most telling dramatic strokes in this terrible portrait. The incident of the strawberries is from Holinshed, who probably took it from More (see

ELY. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart. *Exii*

GLOUCESTER. Cousin of Buckingham, a word with you.

[Takes him aside]

Catesby hath sounded Hastings in our business, 36

And finds the testy gentleman so hot

That he will lose his head ere give consent

His master's child, as worshipfully he terms it,

Shall lose the royalty of England's throne. 40

BUCKINGHAM. Withdraw you hence, my lord; I'll follow
you. *Exeunt* [GLOUCESTER and BUCKINGHAM]

STANLEY. We have not yet set down this day of triumph.
To-morrow, in my judgment, is too sudden;
For I myself am not so well provided
As else I would be, were the day prolong'd. 45

Re-enter the BISHOP OF ELY

ELY. Where is my lord, the Duke of Gloucester?
I have sent for these strawberries.

HASTINGS. His grace looks cheerfully and smooth to-day;
There's some conceit or other likes him well,
When that he bids good morrow with such spirit. 50
I think there's never a man in Christendom

41. you hence . . . follow Qq | yourself a while: I'll go with Ff.

Introduction, Sources), by whom it is given as follows: "These lords so sitting together commoning of this matter, the protector came in amongst them. . . . After a little talking with them he said unto the bishop of Elie: My lord, you have verie good strawberries at your garden in Holborne; I require you, let us have a messe of them. Gladlie, my lord, quoth he; would God I had some better thing as readie to your pleasure as that! And therewithall in all the hast he sent his servant for a messe of strawberries."

49. conceit: thought, conception.—likes: pleases. See Abbott, §297.

Can lesser hide his love or hate than he ;
For by his face straight shall you know his heart.

STANLEY. What of his heart perceive you in his face
By any likelihood he show'd to-day ? 55

HASTINGS. Marry, that with no man here he is offended ;
For, were he, he had shown it in his looks.

STANLEY. I pray God he be not, I say.

Re-enter GLOUCESTER and BUCKINGHAM

GLOUCESTER. I pray you all, tell me what they deserve
That do conspire my death with devilish plots 60
Of damned witchcraft, and that have prevail'd
Upon my body with their hellish charms ?

HASTINGS. The tender love I bear your grace, my lord,
Makes me most forward in this noble presence
To doom the offenders, whosoe'er they be ; 65
I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

GLOUCESTER. Then be your eyes the witness of their
evil.

Look how I am bewitch'd ; behold mine arm
Is, like a blasted sapling, wither'd up :
And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch, 70
Consorted with that harlot strumpet Shore,
That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.

HASTINGS. If they have done this thing, my gracious
lord, —

GLOUCESTER. If ! thou protector of this damned strumpet,
Talk'st thou to me of 'ifs' ? Thou art a traitor ! 75
Off with his head ! now, by Saint Paul I swear,
I will not dine until I see the same.

Lovel and Ratcliff, look that it be done ;
The rest, that love me, rise and follow me.

Exeunt all but HASTINGS, RATCLIFF, and LOVEL

HASTINGS. Woe, woe for England ! not a whit for me ;
For I, too fond, might have prevented this. 81

Stanley did dream the boar did raze our helms ;

But I disdain'd it, and did scorn to fly.

Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,

And started when he look'd upon the Tower, 85

As loth to bear me to the slaughter-house.

O, now I need the priest that spake to me :

I now repent I told the pursuivant,

As too triumphing, how mine enemies

To-day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd, 90

And I myself secure in grace and favour.

O Margaret, Margaret, now thy heavy curse

Is lighted on poor Hastings' wretched head !

RATCLIFF. Come, come, dispatch ; the duke would be at
dinner :

Make a short shrift ; he longs to see your head. 95

HASTINGS. O momentary grace of mortal men,

82. raze Qq | rowse Ff.

89-90. too . . . how . . . To-day

Ff | 'twere . . . at . . . How they

Qq.

78. Ratcliff. In the preceding scene we have Ratcliff at Pomfret, conducting Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan to death ; yet the events of that scene and this are represented as occurring the same day. Knight thinks "this is one of those positions in which the Poet has trusted to the imagination of his audience rather than to their topographical knowledge."

84. foot-cloth. The 'foot-cloth,' a kind of rich covering for the body of a horse, was used only on state occasions when the animal was not required to go faster than a walk. — stumble. An ancient omen of misfortune.

Which we more hunt for than the grace of God!
Who builds his hope in air of your fair looks,
Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast,
Ready, with every nod, to tumble down 100
Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

LOVEL. Come, come, dispatch; 't is bootless to exclaim.

HASTINGS. O bloody Richard! miserable England!
I prophesy the fearfull'st time to thee
That ever wretched age hath look'd upon. 105
Come, lead me to the block; bear him my head:
They smile at me who shortly shall be dead. *Exeunt*

SCENE V. [*The Tower-walls*]

*Enter GLOUCESTER and BUCKINGHAM, in rotten armour,
marvellous ill-favoured*

GLOUCESTER. Come, cousin, canst thou quake, and change
thy colour,
Murder thy breath in middle of a word,
And then begin again, and stop again,
As if thou wert distraught and mad with terror?

BUCKINGHAM. Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
Speak and look back, and pry on every side, 6
Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,

7. Ff omit.

107. William Lord Hastings was beheaded on the 13th of June, 1483. His eldest son by Catharine Neville, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and widow of William Lord Bonville, was restored to his estate by Henry VII.

1. *rotten armour*. To indicate their unpreparedness.

5-7. Cf. Hamlet's advice to the players, *Hamlet*, III, ii, 1-17.

Intending deep suspicion : ghastly looks
 Are at my service, like enforced smiles ;
 And both are ready in their offices 10
 At any time, to grace my stratagems.
 But what, is Catesby gone ?

GLOUCESTER. He is ; and see, he brings the mayor along.

Enter the Mayor and CATESBY

BUCKINGHAM. Let me alone to entertain him. — Lord
 mayor, —

GLOUCESTER. Look to the drawbridge there !

BUCKINGHAM. Hark ! a drum. 15

GLOUCESTER. Catesby, o'erlook the walls.

BUCKINGHAM. Lord mayor, the reason we have sent —

GLOUCESTER. Look back, defend thee ; here are enemies.

BUCKINGHAM. God and our innocency defend and guard
 us !

Enter LOVEL and RATCLIFF, with HASTINGS' head

GLOUCESTER. Be patient, they are friends, Ratcliff and
 Lovel. 20

LOVEL. Here is the head of that ignoble traitor,
 The dangerous and unsuspected Hastings.

GLOUCESTER. So dear I lov'd the man that I must weep.
 I took him for the plainest harmless creature
 That breath'd upon the earth a Christian ; 25

8. *Intending* : pretending. Often so. Cf. III, vii, 45.

9. *enforced* : counterfeited. Cf. *Julius Cæsar*, IV, ii, 20-21 :

When love begins to sicken and decay,
 It useth an enforced ceremony.

10. *offices* : special functions. Cf. *Richard II*, I, iii, 256 ; II, I, 47.

Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded
The history of all her secret thoughts ;
So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue,
That, his apparent open guilt omitted,
I mean his conversation with Shore's wife, 30
He liv'd from all attainder of suspect.

BUCKINGHAM. Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd
traitor

That ever liv'd.

Would you imagine, or almost believe,
Were 't not that, by great preservation, 35
We live to tell it you, the subtle traitor
This day had plotted, in the council-house,
To murder me and my good Lord of Gloucester ?

MAYOR. What, had he so ?

GLOUCESTER. What, think you we are Turks or infidels ?
Or that we would, against the form of law, 41
Proceed thus rashly in the villain's death,
But that the extreme peril of the case,
The peace of England and our persons' safety,
Enforc'd us to this execution ? 45

MAYOR. Now, fair befall you ! he deserv'd his death ;
And your good graces both have well proceeded,
To warn false traitors from the like attempts.
I never look'd for better at his hands,
After he once fell in with Mistress Shore. 50

29. **apparent** : manifest. As in II, ii, 130, 136, etc.

30. **conversation** : intercourse, connection. Cf. *Hamlet*, III, ii, 60.

31. **attainder of suspect** : taint of suspicion. Cf. I, iii, 89.

49-50. The arrangement of the Quartos. The Folios give the lines to Buckingham.

GLOUCESTER. Yet had we not determin'd he should die,
 Until your lordship came to see his end ;
 Which now the loving haste of these our friends,
 Somewhat against our meaning, have prevented ;
 Because, my lord, we would have had you heard 55
 The traitor speak, and timorously confess
 The manner and the purpose of his treason,
 That you might well have signified the same
 Unto the citizens, who haply may
 Misconstrue us in him, and wail his death. 60

MAYOR. But, my good lord, your grace's word shall serve,
 As well as I had seen, and heard him speak ;
 And do not doubt, right noble princes both,
 But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens
 With all your just proceedings in this case. 65

GLOUCESTER. And to that end we wish'd your lordship
 here,
 To avoid the censures of the carping world.

BUCKINGHAM. But since you come too late of our intent,
 Yet witness what you hear we did intend ;
 And so, my good lord mayor, we bid farewell. *Exit Mayor*

GLOUCESTER. Go, after, after, cousin Buckingham. 71
 The mayor towards Guildhall hies him in all post.
 There, at your meetest vantage of the time,

68. But Qq | Which Ff.

51-60. In the Folios all of this speech is given to Buckingham along with lines 49-50.

54. *have*. Attracted into plural by 'friends.'—*prevented*: anticipated.

55. 'To have' may have been elided before 'heard.' See Abbott, § 411.

62. *as I had seen*. The 'if' is implied in the subjunctive. See Abbott, § 107.

Infer the bastardy of Edward's children;
Tell them how Edward put to death a citizen, 75
Only for saying he would make his son
Heir to the crown; meaning indeed his house,
Which, by the sign thereof, was termed so.
Moreover, urge his hateful luxury,
And bestial appetite in change of lust; 80
Which stretch'd unto their servants, daughters, wives,
Even where his raging eye or savage heart,
Without control, lusted to make a prey.
Nay, for a need, thus far come near my person:
Tell them, when that my mother went with child 85
Of that insatiate Edward, noble York
My princely father then had wars in France;
And, by just computation of the time,
Found that the issue was not his begot;
Which well appeared in his lineaments, 90
Being nothing like the noble duke my father.
Yet touch this sparingly, as 't were far off;
Because, my lord, you know my mother lives.
BUCKINGHAM. Doubt not, my lord, I'll play the orator
As if the golden fee for which I plead 95
Were for myself; and so, my lord, adieu.

82-83. raging . . . lusted Ff | lustful . . . listed Qq.

74. **Infer**: introduce, bring forward. The original (Latin) meaning. So in III, vii, 12, 32; IV, iv, 343; V, iii, 314.

75. **citizen**. This person was a merchant dwelling in Cheapside, called Walker according to Stow, Burdet according to Hall. These topics of Edward's cruelty, lust, and unlawful marriage are enlarged on in that most extraordinary invective, the petition presented to Richard before his accession, which was afterwards turned into an Act of Parliament.

GLOUCESTER. If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's Castle,

Where you shall find me well accompanied
With reverend fathers and well-learned bishops.

BUCKINGHAM. I go ; and towards three or four o'clock 100
Look for the news that the Guildhall affords. *Exit*

GLOUCESTER. Go, Lovel, with all speed to Doctor Shaw ;
[To CATESBY] Go thou to Friar Penker ; bid them both
Meet me within this hour at Baynard's Castle.

Exeunt [LOVEL, CATESBY, and RATCLIFF]

Now will I in to take some privy order, 105
To draw the brats of Clarence out of sight ;
And to give notice that no manner person
Have any time recourse unto the princes. *Exit*

102-104. Qq omit.

107. notice Qq | order Ff.

97. *Baynard's Castle.* This castle was built by Baynard, a noble man who is said to have come into England with William the Conqueror. It stood on the bank of the Thames, not far from St. Paul's, and was totally destroyed in the Great Fire, 1666.

99. *bishops.* They appear after III, vii, 94.

102-103. *Shaw . . . Penker.* "Of spirituall men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they Iohn Shaw clearke brother to the maior, and frier Penker, provinciall of the Augustine friers both doctors of divinitie, both great preachers, both of more learning than virtue, of more fame than learning."—Holinshed.

106. *brats of Clarence.* Edward, known afterwards as Earl of Warwick, and Margaret, afterwards the wife of Sir Richard Pole, who was the last princess of the House of Lancaster.

107. *manner person:* manner of person. The reading of the later Quartos and the Folios. The First and Second Quartos have 'manner of person.' Cf. 'manner vessels,' *Revelation*, xviii, 12 (King James Bible).

SCENE VI. [*The same. A street*]*Enter a Scrivener with a paper in his hand*

SCRIVENER. Here is the indictment of the good Lord Hastings,
 Which in a set hand fairly is engross'd,
 That it may be to-day read o'er in Paul's.
 And mark how well the sequel hangs together :
 Eleven hours I 've spent to write it over, 5
 For yesternight by Catesby was it sent me.
 The precedent was full as long a-doing ;
 And yet within these five hours Hastings liv'd,
 Untainted, unexamin'd, free, at liberty.
 Here 's a good world the while ! Why, who 's so gross 10
 That cannot see this palpable device ?
 Yet who so bold, but says he sees it not ?
 Bad is the world ; and all will come to nought
 When such ill dealing must be seen in thought. *Exit*

12. bold Ff | blind Qq.

1. *Enter a Scrivener.* A 'scrivener' is a writer, or scribe. The term was applied to a class of men whose special business it was to draw up or to transcribe legal writings and instruments. Milton's father was known officially as a scrivener.

2. *engross'd* : copied in a large, legible hand for public use.

3. *Paul's.* St. Paul's Cathedral was used as a kind of exchange, and all sorts of notices were posted there for the public eye. The edifice was not used in Shakespeare's time, as it had been set on fire by a stroke of lightning and the roof burnt off early in Elizabeth's reign. The present St. Paul's was not built till the time of Charles II.

7. *precedent* : original draft from which a copy is made.

9. *Untainted* : unaccused, free from any stigma.

14. *in thought* : in silence, without knowledge or detection.

SCENE VII. [*Baynard's Castle*]

Enter GLOUCESTER and BUCKINGHAM, at several doors

GLOUCESTER. How now, how now! what say the citizens?

BUCKINGHAM. Now, by the holy mother of our Lord,
The citizens are mum, say not a word.

GLOUCESTER. Touch'd you the bastardy of Edward's
children?

BUCKINGHAM. I did; with his contract with Lady Lucy.
And his contract by deputy in France; 6
The insatiate greediness of his desires,
And his enforcement of the city wives;
His tyranny for trifles; his own bastardy,
As being got, your father then in France, 10
And his resemblance, being not like the duke.
Withal I did infer your lineaments,
Being the right idea of your father,

5-6 his contract . . . in France Ff | Qq omit. 8, 11, 37. Qq omit.

5. **Lady Lucy.** When Edward was about to marry Lady Elizabeth Grey, his mother tried to prevail upon Lady Elizabeth Lucy to come forward and say that she had been privately married to the king. When, however, Lady Lucy "was solemnlie sworn to saie the truth, she confessed that they were never ensured." In his speech to the citizens Buckingham set this denial aside, and declared that "the children of King Edward the fourth were never lawfullie begotten, for so much as the king (leaving his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucie) was never lawfullie married unto the queene their mother."

6. **deputy in France.** The deputy was Warwick, who went to France and arranged a marriage between Edward and Bona, sister-in-law to the King of France. Cf. line 182.

12. **infer:** introduce. So in line 32. Cf. III, v, 74; IV, iv, 343; V, iii, 314.

13. **idea:** image, likeness. The original (Greek) meaning.

Both in your form and nobleness of mind ;
 Laid open all your victories in Scotland, 15
 Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace,
 Your bounty, virtue, fair humility ;
 Indeed, left nothing fitting for the purpose
 Untouch'd, or slightly handled, in discourse :
 And, when my oratory drew toward end, 20
 I bid them that did love their country's good
 Cry, ' God save Richard, England's royal king ! '

GLOUCESTER. And did they so ?

BUCKINGHAM. No, so God help me, they spake not a word,
 But, like dumb statues or breathing stones, 25
 Star'd each on other, and look'd deadly pale ;
 Which when I saw, I reprehended them,
 And ask'd the mayor what meant this wilful silence.
 His answer was, the people were not us'd
 To be spoke to but by the recorder. 30
 Then he was urg'd to tell my tale again :
 ' Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferr'd ' ;
 But nothing spake in warrant from himself.
 When he had done, some followers of mine own
 At lower end o' the hall hurl'd up their caps, 35
 And some ten voices cried, ' God save King Richard ! '
 And thus I took the vantage of those few :
 ' Thanks, gentle citizens and friends, ' quoth I ;
 ' This general applause and cheerful shout
 Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard ' : 40
 And even here brake off, and came away.

24. they . . . word Ff | Qq omit. 25. statues QqFf | statuas Steevens.

25. statues. Occasionally unsyllabic in Elizabethan verse.

GLOUCESTER. What tongueless blocks were they! would they not speak?

BUCKINGHAM. No, by my troth, my lord.

GLOUCESTER. Will not the mayor then and his brethren come?

BUCKINGHAM. The mayor is here at hand. Intend some fear; 45

Be not you spoke with but by mighty suit;
And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
And stand between two churchmen, good my lord;
For on that ground I'll make a holy descant;
And be not easily won to our request; 50
Play the maid's part; still answer nay, and take it.

GLOUCESTER. I go; and if you plead as well for them
As I can say nay to thee for myself,
No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

BUCKINGHAM. Go, go, up to the leads; the lord mayor
knocks. *Exit* [GLOUCESTER] 55

Enter the Mayor and Citizens

Welcome, my lord! I dance attendance here;
I think the duke will not be spoke withal.

Enter CATESBY [from the castle]

Now, Catesby, what says your lord to my request?

CATESBY. He doth entreat your grace, my noble lord,

43. Ff omit.

45. *Intend*: pretend. Cf. III, v, 8, and see note.

49. 'Ground' and 'descant' are technical terms in music; the former meaning the original air, the latter the variations.

55. *leads*: flat roof covered with lead.

57. *withal*. An emphatic form of 'with.' See Abbott, § 196.

To visit him to-morrow or next day. 60

He is within, with two right reverend fathers,

Divinely bent to meditation ;

And in no worldly suit would he be mov'd,

To draw him from his holy exercise.

BUCKINGHAM. Return, good Catesby, to the gracious duke ;

Tell him, myself, the mayor and aldermen, 66

In deep designs and matters of great moment,

No less importing than our general good,

Are come to have some conference with his grace. 69

CATESBY. I'll signify so much unto him straight. *Exit*

BUCKINGHAM. Ah, ha, my lord, this prince is not an
Edward !

He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,

But on his knees at meditation ;

Not dallying with a brace of courtezans,

But meditating with two deep divines ; 75

Not sleeping, to engross his idle body,

But praying, to enrich his watchful soul.

Happy were England would this virtuous prince

Take on himself the sovereignty thereof ;

But, sure, I fear we shall not win him to it. 80

MAYOR. Marry, God defend his grace should say us nay !

BUCKINGHAM. I fear he will. Here Catesby comes again.

Re-enter CATESBY

Now, Catesby, what says his grace ?

72. day-bed Qq | love bed Ff.

82. Here . . . again Ff | Qq omit.

76. engross : make gross, fatten, pamper. See Abbott, § 440.

81. defend : forbid. So in line 173. Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, II, i, 98.

CATESBY. He wonders to what end you have assembled
Such troops of citizens to come to him, 85
His grace not being warn'd thereof before ;
He fears, my lord, you mean no good to him.

BUCKINGHAM. Sorry I am my noble cousin should
Suspect me, that I mean no good to him :
By heaven, we come to him in perfect love ; 90
And so once more return and tell his grace. *Exit CATESBY*
When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads, 't is much to draw them thence,
So sweet is zealous contemplation. 94

Enter GLOUCESTER aloft, between two Bishops.

[CATESBY *returns*]

MAYOR. See, where his grace stands 'tween two clergymen !

BUCKINGHAM. Two props of virtue for a Christian prince,
To stay him from the fall of vanity ;
And, see, a book of prayer in his hand,
True ornament to know a holy man.
Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince, 100
Lend favourable ear to our request ;
And pardon us the interruption
Of thy devotion and right Christian zeal.

GLOUCESTER. My lord, there needs no such apology ;
I rather do beseech you pardon me, 105
Who, earnest in the service of my God,
Neglect the visitation of my friends.
But, leaving this, what is your grace's pleasure ?

98, 99, 120, 127. Qq omit.

98. *prayer*. Here dissyllabic. See Abbott, §§ 477-479.

BUCKINGHAM. Even that, I hope, which pleaseth God above,
And all good men of this ungovern'd isle. 110

GLOUCESTER. I do suspect I have done some offence
That seems disgracious in the city's eye ;
And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.

BUCKINGHAM. You have, my lord : would it might please
your grace,
On our entreaties, to amend your fault ! 115

GLOUCESTER. Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian land ?

BUCKINGHAM. Know then, it is your fault that you resign
The supreme seat, the throne majesticall,
The scept'red office of your ancestors,
Your state of fortune and your due of birth, 120
The lineal glory of your royal house,
To the corruption of a blemish'd stock ;
Whilst, in the mildness of your sleepy thoughts,
Which here we waken to our country's good,
This noble isle doth want her proper limbs ; 125
Her face defac'd with scars of infamy,
Her royal stock graft with ignoble plants,
And almost should'red in the swallowing gulf
Of dark forgetfulness and deep oblivion.
Which to recure, we heartily solicit 130

127. *graft*: grafted. This form is quite correct, as the present was originally 'graff.' Cf. Rosalind's reply to Touchstone, *As You Like It*, III, ii, 124-125: "I'll graff it with you, and then I shall graff it with a medlar."

128. *should'red in*: pushed into (as with the shoulder).

130. *recure*: recover. Spenser has the word in the same sense. Cf. *The Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 19:

Whose mariners and merchants with much toyle
Labour'd in vaine to have recur'd their prize.

Your gracious self to take on you the charge
 And kingly government of this your land ;
 Not as protector, steward, substitute,
 Or lowly factor for another's gain ;
 But as successively from blood to blood, 135
 Your right of birth, your empery, your own.
 For this, consorted with the citizens,
 Your very worshipful and loving friends,
 And by their vehement instigation,
 In this just suit come I to move your grace. 140

GLOUCESTER. I cannot tell, if to depart in silence,
 Or bitterly to speak in your reproof,
 Best fitteth my degree or your condition :
 If not to answer, you might haply think
 Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded 145
 To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty,
 Which fondly you would here impose on me ;
 If to reprove you for this suit of yours,
 So season'd with your faithful love to me,
 Then, on the other side, I check'd my friends. 150
 Therefore, to speak and to avoid the first,
 And then, in speaking, not to incur the last,
 Definitely thus I answer you.
 Your love deserves my thanks ; but my desert
 Unmeritable shuns your high request. 155
 First, if all obstacles were cut away,
 And that my path were even to the crown,
 As the ripe revenue and due of birth,

131-132. the charge . . . land Ff | the soueraigntie thereof Qq.

144-153. Qq omit.

155. Unmeritable. For the suffix '-ble,' active, see Abbott, §§ 3, 445.

Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,
So mighty and so many my defects, 160
That I would rather hide me from my greatness,
Being a bark to brook no mighty sea,
Than in my greatness covet to be hid,
And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.
But, God be thank'd, there is no need of me ; 165
And much I need, to help you, were there need.
The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,
Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time,
Will well become the seat of majesty,
And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign. 170
On him I lay what you would lay on me,
The right and fortune of his happy stars ;
Which God defend that I should wring from him !

BUCKINGHAM. My lord, this argues conscience in your
grace ;

But the respects thereof are nice and trivial, 175
All circumstances well considered.
You say that Edward is your brother's son :
So say we too, but not by Edward's wife ;
For first he was contract to Lady Lucy —
Your mother lives a witness to his vow— 180
And afterward by substitute betroth'd
To Bona, sister to the King of France.
These both put by, a poor petitioner,
A care-craz'd mother of a many children,
A beauty-waning and distressed widow, 185

x66. And I fall short of ability to help you, if help were needed.

175. respects : consideration — nice : unimportant.

183-185. This scene is described in *Henry VI*, III, ii.

Even in the afternoon of her best days,
 Made prize and purchase of his wanton eye,
 Seduc'd the pitch and height of his degree
 To base declension and loath'd bigamy.
 By her, in his unlawful bed, he got 190
 This Edward, whom our manners call the prince.
 More bitterly could I expostulate,
 Save that, for reverence to some alive,
 I give a sparing limit to my tongue.
 Then, good my lord, take to your royal self 195
 This proffer'd benefit of dignity;
 If not to bless us and the land withal,
 Yet to draw forth your noble ancestry
 From the corruption of abusing times
 Unto a lineal true-derived course. 200

MAYOR. Do, good my lord; your citizens entreat you.

BUCKINGHAM. Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd love.

CATESBY. O, make them joyful, grant their lawful suit!

GLOUCESTER. Alas, why would you heap this care on me?
 I am unfit for state and majesty. 205

I do beseech you, take it not amiss;

I cannot nor I will not yield to you.

BUCKINGHAM. If you refuse it, — as, in love and zeal,
 Loth to depose the child, your brother's son;
 As well we know your tenderness of heart, 210
 And gentle, kind, effeminate remorse,
 Which we have noted in you to your kindred,
 And equally indeed to all estates, —

202. Qq omit.

195. good my lord: my good lord. Often so.

211. remorse: pity, compassion. Cf. 'remorseful,' I, ii, 155.

Yet whether you accept our suit or no,
Your brother's son shall never reign our king ; 215
But we will plant some other in the throne,
To the disgrace and downfall of your house.
And in this resolution here we leave you.
Come, citizens, 'zounds ! I 'll entreat no more. 219

GLOUCESTER. O, do not swear, my Lord of Buckingham.

Exit BUCKINGHAM [*the Mayor, Aldermen, and*
Citizens retiring]

CATESBY. Call them again, sweet prince, accept their suit ;
If you deny them, all the land will rue it.

GLOUCESTER. Will you enforce me to a world of cares ?
Call them again.

[*CATESBY goes to the Mayor, &c., and then exit*]

I am not made of stone,
But penetrable to your kind entreats, 225
Albeit against my conscience and my soul.

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM [*CATESBY*] *and the rest*

Cousin of Buckingham, and sage, grave men,
Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
To bear her burden, whether I will or no,
I must have patience to endure the load : 230
But if black scandal or foul-fac'd reproach
Attend the sequel of your imposition,
Your mere enforcement shall acquittance me
From all the impure blots and stains thereof ;

219. 'zounds ! I 'll entreat. The Folios read 'we will entreat' and omit the next line. See note, I, iv, 125.

233. mere enforcement : absolute compulsion. — acquittance : acquit.

For God he knows, and you may partly see, 235
How far I am from the desire of this.

MAYOR. God bless your grace! we see it, and will say it.

GLOUCESTER. In saying so, you shall but say the truth.

BUCKINGHAM. Then I salute you with this royal title :
Long live King Richard, England's worthy king ! 240

ALL. Amen.

BUCKINGHAM. To-morrow may it please you to be crown'd?

GLOUCESTER. Even when you please, since you will have
it so.

BUCKINGHAM. To-morrow, then, we will attend your grace ;
And so most joyfully we take our leave. 245

GLOUCESTER. [*To the Bishops*] Come, let us to our holy
work again. —

Farewell, good cousin ; farewell, gentle friends. *Exeunt*

239. royal Ff | kingly Qq.

240. worthy Ff | royal Qq.

245. Qq omit.

247. good cousin Qq | my cousins Ff.

235. God he. The idiomatic insertion of the redundant pronoun is frequent after a proper name as the subject. "The subject or object stands first, like the title of a book, to call the attention of the reader to what may be said about it." — Abbott, § 243.

247. good cousin. This, the Quarto reading, is more appropriate than the 'my cousins' of the Folios. Buckingham is the only person present whom Richard can with propriety address in this way.

ACT IV

SCENE I. [*London. Before the Tower*]

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, *the* DUCHESS OF YORK, *and* MARQUESS OF DORSET *at one door*; ANNE, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER [*leading* LADY MARGARET PLANTAGENET, CLARENCE'S *young Daughter*] *at another door*

DUCHESS. Who meets us here? my niece Plantagenet,
Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloucester?
Now, for my life, she's wandering to the Tower,
On pure heart's love, to greet the tender princes.
Daughter, well met.

ANNE. God give your graces both 5
A happy and a joyful time of day!

QUEEN ELIZABETH. As much to you, good sister! Whither
away?

ANNE. No farther than the Tower; and, as I guess,
Upon the like devotion as yourselves,
To gratulate the gentle princes there. 10

2-6. Qq omit.

1. *Enter* . . . ANNE, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER. "We have not seen this lady since the second scene of the first act, in which she promised to meet Richard at Crosby Place. She was married to him about the year 1472." — Malone. — niece. The Duchess is speaking to what we should call her 'granddaughter.' See note, II, ii, 8.

9. *like devotion as*. Similarly in the Prologue to *Troilus and Cressida*, line 25: "In like conditions as our argument."

10. *gratulate*: greet, salute.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Kind sister, thanks ; we 'll enter all together :

Enter the lieutenant [BRAKENBURY]

And, in good time, here the lieutenant comes.
Master lieutenant, pray you, by your leave,
How doth the prince, and my young son of York ? 14

BRAKENBURY. Right well, dear madam. By your patience,
I may not suffer you to visit them ;
The king hath straitly charg'd the contrary.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. The king ! who 's that ?

BRAKENBURY. I mean the lord protector.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. The Lord protect him from that kingly title !

Hath he set bounds between their love and me ? 20
I am their mother ; who shall bar me from them ?

DUCHESS. I am their father's mother ; I will see them.

ANNE. Their aunt I am in law, in love their mother :
Then bring me to their sights ; I 'll bear thy blame,
And take thy office from thee, on my peril. 25

BRAKENBURY. No, madam, no ; I may not leave it so :
I'm bound by oath, and therefore pardon me. *Exit*

Enter LORD STANLEY

STANLEY. Let me but meet you, ladies, one hour hence,
And I 'll salute your grace of York as mother,
And reverend looker-on of two fair queens. 30

18. The Quartos insert 'I cry you mercy.'

24. sights. Plural because more than one person is referred to.

25. thy office. Brakenbury was official keeper of the Tower.

[*To ANNE*] Come, madam, you must straight to Westminster,
There to be crowned Richard's royal queen.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. O, cut my lace asunder,
That my pent heart may have some scope to beat,
Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news! 35

ANNE. Despiteful tidings! O unpleasing news!

DORSET. Be of good cheer; mother, how fares your grace?

QUEEN ELIZABETH. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee
hence!

Death and destruction dog thee at the heels;
Thy mother's name is ominous to children. 40

If thou wilt outstrip death, go cross the seas,
And live with Richmond, from the reach of hell.
Go, hie thee, hie thee from this slaughter-house,
Lest thou increase the number of the dead;
And make me die the thrall of Margaret's curse, 45
Nor mother, wife, nor England's counted queen.

STANLEY. Full of wise care is this your counsel, madam.
Take all the swift advantage of the hours;
You shall have letters from me to my son
In your behalf, to meet you on the way: 50
Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

DUCHESS. O ill-dispersing wind of misery!
O my accursed womb, the bed of death!
A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
Whose unavowed eye is murderous. 55

36. Qq omit.

54. cockatrice. So called from its fabled generation from the egg of a cock. 'Cockatrice,' it seems, was but another name for the 'basilisk.' Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, III, vii: "Many opinions are passant concerning the basilisk, or little king of serpents,

STANLEY. Come, madam, come; I in all haste was sent.

ANNE. And I in all unwillingness will go.

O, would to God that the inclusive verge
Of golden metal that must round my brow
Were red-hot steel to sear me to the brain! 60
Anointed let me be with deadly venom;
And die ere men can say, 'God save the queen!'

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Go, go, poor soul, I envy not thy glory;
To feed my humour, wish thyself no harm.

ANNE. No! why? When he that is my husband now 65
Came to me, as I follow'd Henry's corse;
When scarce the blood was well wash'd from his hands
Which issu'd from my other angel husband,
And that dead saint which then I weeping follow'd;
O, when, I say, I look'd on Richard's face, 70
This was my wish: 'Be thou,' quoth I, 'accurs'd,
For making me, so young, so old a widow!
And, when thou wedd'st, let sorrow haunt thy bed;
And be thy wife — if any be so mad —
More miserable by the life of thee 75

58. O Ff | I Qq.

75. life Ff | death Qq.

commonly called the cockatrice." And again: "As for the generation of the basilisk, that it proceedeth from a cock's egg, hatched under a toad or serpent, it is a conceit as monstrous as the brood itself." See note, I, ii, 150. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii, 47: "the death-darting eye of cockatrice."

60. red-hot steel . . . brain. She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide or other criminal by placing upon his head a crown of iron heated red-hot. In some of the monkish accounts of a place of future torments, a 'burning crown' is likewise appropriated to those who deprived any lawful monarch of his kingdom. The Earl of Athol, who was executed for the murder of James I, King of Scots, was crowned with hot iron.

Than thou hast made me by my dear lord's death !'
Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Even in so short a space, my woman's heart
Grossly grew captive to his honey words,
And prov'd the subject of mine own soul's curse, 80
Which ever since hath kept mine eyes from rest ;
For never yet one hour in his bed
Have I enjoy'd the golden dew of sleep,
But have been waked by his timorous dreams.
Besides, he hates me for my father Warwick, 85
And will, no doubt, shortly be rid of me.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Poor heart, adieu ! I pity thy complaining.

ANNE. No more than from my soul I mourn for yours.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Farewell, thou woeful welcomer of glory !

ANNE. Adieu, poor soul, that tak'st thy leave of it ! 90

DUCHESS. [*To* DORSET] Go thou to Richmond, and good fortune guide thee !

[*To* ANNE] Go thou to Richard, and good angels tend thee !

[*To* ELIZABETH] Go thou to sanctuary, and good thoughts possess thee !

92 tend Ff | guard Qq.

82. hour. Dissyllabic here, as also in V, iii, 31.

83. golden. Cf. 'leaden' as an attribute of sleep, V, iii, 105.

84. waked . . . dreams. The old chroniclers all agree in their accounts of Richard's disturbed nights. "He tooke ill rest a nights, laie long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearfull dreames, suddenlie sometime start up, lept out of his bed, and ran about the chamber ; so was his restless heart continuallie tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormie remembrance of his abhominable deeds." — **timorous** : fearful. Cf. *Othello*, I, i, 75.

I to my grave, where peace and rest lie with me!
 Eighty odd years of sorrow have I seen, 95
 And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Stay yet, look back with me unto the
 Tower.

Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,
 Whom envy hath immur'd within your walls!
 Rough cradle for such little pretty ones! 100
 Rude ragged nurse, old sullen playfellow
 For tender princes, use my babies well!
 So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell. *Exeunt*

SCENE II. [*The same. A room of state in the palace*]

Sennet. Enter RICHARD, *in pomp crowned*; BUCKINGHAM,
 CATESBY [*a Page, and others*]

KING RICHARD. Stand all apart. Cousin of Buckingham!

BUCKINGHAM. My gracious sovereign?

KING RICHARD. Give me thy hand.

Here he ascendeth the throne. Sound

Thus high, by thy advice

And thy assistance, is King Richard seated.

But shall we wear these honours for a day? 5

Or shall they last, and we rejoice in them?

BUCKINGHAM. Still live they, and for ever let them last!

97-103. Qq omit.

2. Qq omit.

95. **Eighty odd years.** The Duchess was only sixty-eight at this time, but there is dramatic effectiveness in exaggerating the age to increase the pathos of the situation.

96. **teen**: affliction, grief. Cf. *The Tempest*, I, ii, 64.

99. **envy**: malice. See note, I, iii, 26.

101. **ragged**: rough. Cf. *As You Like It*, II, v, 15.

KING RICHARD. Ah, Buckingham, now do I play the touch,
To try if thou be current gold indeed :

Young Edward lives ; think now what I would speak. 10

BUCKINGHAM. Say on, my loving lord.

KING RICHARD. Why, Buckingham, I say, I would be king.

BUCKINGHAM. Why, so you are, my thrice-renowned liege.

KING RICHARD. Ha ! am I king ? 't is so ; but Edward
lives.

BUCKINGHAM. True, noble prince.

KING RICHARD. O bitter consequence,
That Edward still should live ! ' True, noble prince ! ' 16
Cousin, thou wert not wont to be so dull.

Shall I be plain ? I wish the bastards dead,

And I would have it suddenly perform'd.

What say'st thou now ? speak suddenly, be brief. 20

BUCKINGHAM. Your grace may do your pleasure.

KING RICHARD. Tut, tut, thou art all ice, thy kindness
freezes.

Say, have I thy consent that they shall die ?

BUCKINGHAM. Give me some breath, some little pause,
my lord,

Before I positively speak herein ; 25

I will resolve your grace immediately. *Exit*

CATESBY. [*Aside to another*] The king is angry ; see, he
gnaws his lip.

KING RICHARD. I will converse with iron-witted fools

27. gnaws Ff | bites Qq.

8. **play the touch** : do the office of the touchstone. Cf. *Pericles*, II, ii, 37 : "gold that's by the touchstone tried."

26. **resolve** : inform, satisfy. So in line 119 and in IV, v, 22.

27. The chroniclers mention this as a habit of Richard's.

And unrespective boys : none are for me
 That look into me with considerate eyes. 30
 High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect.
 Boy !

PAGE. My lord ?

KING RICHARD. Know'st thou not any whom corrupting
 gold
 Would tempt unto a close exploit of death ? 35

PAGE. I know a discontented gentleman,
 Whose humble means match not his haughty mind ;
 Gold were as good as twenty orators,
 And will, no doubt, tempt him to anything.

KING RICHARD. What is his name ?

PAGE. His name, my lord, is Tyrrel. 40

KING RICHARD. I partly know the man : go call him
 hither. — *Exit Page*

The deep-revolving witty Buckingham
 No more shall be the neighbour to my counsels.
 Hath he so long held out with me untir'd,
 And stops he now for breath ? well, be it so. 45

Enter STANLEY

How now, Lord Stanley, what 's the news ?

STANLEY. Know, my loving lord,
 The Marquis Dorset, as I hear, is fled
 To Richmond, in the parts where he abides. 49

KING RICHARD. Come hither, Catesby : rumour it abroad
That Anne, my wife, is very grievous sick ;

45. well . . . 80. Qq omit.

29. unrespective : inconsiderate. Cf. 'respects,' III, vii, 175.

42. witty : cunning, artful. Cf. 'wit,' III, i, 50.

I will take order for her keeping close.

Inquire me out some mean poor gentleman,

Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter ;

The boy is foolish, and I fear not him.

55

Look, how thou dream'st ! I say again, give out

That Anne my queen is sick and like to die.

About it ; for it stands me much upon

To stop all hopes whose growth may damage me.

[*Exit* CATESBY]

I must be married to my brother's daughter,

60

Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass.

Murder her brothers, and then marry her !

Uncertain way of gain ! But I am in

So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin.

Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye.

65

Re-enter [Page, *with* SIR JAMES TYRREL]

Is thy name Tyrrel ?

TYRREL. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient subject.

KING RICHARD. Art thou indeed ?

TYRREL.

Prove me, my gracious sovereign.

KING RICHARD. Dar'st thou resolve to kill a friend of mine ?

55. The boy is foolish. This youth, who is known in history as Edward, Earl of Warwick, was now about ten years old. He was put to death by Henry VII, in 1499 ; he being then the only surviving male of the Plantagenet name. The chroniclers represent him as little better than an imbecile, but his stupidity was most likely the result of cruel treatment. After the battle of Bosworth he was kept in solitary confinement and his education totally neglected. It was to the interest of the reigning powers to make him 'foolish,' or at least to have him regarded as so.

58. stands me . . . upon : is of the utmost importance to me.

TYRREL. Ay, my lord ; 70
But I had rather kill two enemies.

KING RICHARD. Why, there thou hast it; two deep enemies,
Foes to my rest and my sweet sleep's disturbers,
Are they that I would have thee deal upon.
Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower. 75

TYRREL. Let me have open means to come to them,
And soon I'll rid you from the fear of them.

KING RICHARD. Thou sing'st sweet music. Hark, come
hither, Tyrrel ;
Go, by this token. Rise, and lend thine ear. *Whispers*
There is no more but so ; say it is done, 80
And I will love thee, and prefer thee for it.

TYRREL. I will dispatch it straight.

KING RICHARD. Shall we hear from thee, Tyrrel, ere we sleep?

TYRREL. Ye shall, my lord. *Exit*

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM

BUCKINGHAM. My lord, I have consider'd in my mind 85
The late demand that you did sound me in.

KING RICHARD. Well, let that rest. Dorset is fled to
Richmond.

BUCKINGHAM. I hear the news, my lord.

KING RICHARD. Stanley, he is your wife's son ; well,
look to it.

BUCKINGHAM. My lord, I claim the gift, my due by promise,
For which your honour and your faith is pawn'd ; 91
Th' earldom of Hereford and the movables
The which you promised I should possess.

KING RICHARD. Stanley, look to your wife ; if she convey Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it. 95

BUCKINGHAM. What says your highness to my just request?

KING RICHARD. I do remember me, Henry the Sixth Did prophesy that Richmond should be king, When Richmond was a little peevish boy. A king, perhaps, perhaps, — 100

BUCKINGHAM. My lord !

KING RICHARD. How chance the prophet could not at that time Have told me, I being by, that I should kill him ?

BUCKINGHAM. My lord, your promise for the earldom, —

KING RICHARD. Richmond ! When last I was at Exeter, The mayor in courtesy show'd me the castle, 106 And call'd it Rougemont ; at which name I started, Because a bard of Ireland told me once, I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

BUCKINGHAM. My lord ! 110

KING RICHARD. Ay, what's o'clock ?

BUCKINGHAM. I am thus bold to put your grace in mind Of what you promis'd me.

KING RICHARD. Well, but what's o'clock ?

BUCKINGHAM. Upon the stroke of ten.

KING RICHARD. Well, let it strike.

BUCKINGHAM. Why let it strike ? 115

KING RICHARD. Because that, like a Jack, thou keep'st the stroke

100-120. perhaps . . . tut Qq | *Buck.* May it please you to resolve me in my suit. *Rich.* Ff.

116. Jack: jack of the clock. This was a little figure that struck the hours with a hammer. Richard compares Buckingham to such an automaton, and bids him not to suspend the stroke on the bell.

Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.

I am not in the giving vein to-day.

BUCKINGHAM. Why, then resolve me whether you will
or no.

KING RICHARD. Tut, tut, thou troublest me; I am not
in the vein. *Exeunt all but BUCKINGHAM* 120

BUCKINGHAM. Is it even so? rewards he my true service
With such contempt? made I him king for this?

O, let me think on Hastings, and be gone

To Brecknock, while my fearful head is on! *Exit*

SCENE III. [*Another room in the palace*]

Enter TYRREL

TYRREL. The tyrannous and bloody act is done,
The most arch deed of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this ruthless piece of butchery, 5
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children in their death's sad story.
'O, thus,' quoth Dighton, 'lay the gentle babes,' —
'Thus, thus,' quoth Forrest, 'girdling one another 10
Within their alabaster innocent arms:

124. Brecknock. The name of Buckingham's castle in Wales.

6. flesh'd: inured to bloodshed. Cf. *Henry V*, III, iii, 11: "And the flesh'd soldier, rough and hard of heart"; Drayton's *Miseries of Queen Margaret*:

Both which were flesht abundantly with blood
In those three battles they had won before.

Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
 Which in their summer beauty kiss'd each other.
 A book of prayers on their pillow lay ;
 Which once,' quoth Forrest, ' almost chang'd my mind ; 15
 But, O, the devil ' — there the villain stopp'd ;
 When Dighton thus told on : ' We smothered
 The most replenished sweet work of nature,
 That from the prime creation e'er she fram'd.'
 Hence both are gone with conscience and remorse, 20
 They could not speak ; and so I left them both,
 To bear this tidings to the bloody king.
 And here he comes.

Enter KING RICHARD

All health, my sovereign lord !

KING RICHARD. Kind Tyrrel, am I happy in thy news ?

TYRREL. If to have done the thing you gave in charge 25
 Beget your happiness, be happy then,
 For it is done.

KING RICHARD. But didst thou see them dead ?

TYRREL. I did, my lord.

KING RICHARD. And buried, gentle Tyrrel ?

TYRREL. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried them ;
 But where, to say the truth, I do not know. 30

KING RICHARD. Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after-supper,
 When thou shalt tell the process of their death.
 Meantime, but think how I may do thee good,

13. Which Q1Q5 | And Ff.

30. where . . . truth Ff | how or
in what place Qq.

31. after-supper: dessert af. r supper. Cf. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, i, 34.

And be inheritor of thy desire.

Farewell till then.

TYRREL. I humbly take my leave. *Exit* 35

KING RICHARD. The son of Clarence have I pent up
close :

His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage ;

The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom,

And Anne my wife hath bid the world good night.

Now, for I know the Breton Richmond aims 40

At young Elizabeth, my brother's daughter,

And by that knot looks proudly on the crown,

To her go I, a jolly thriving wooer.

Enter CATESBY

CATESBY. My lord !

KING RICHARD. Good or bad news, that thou com'st in
so bluntly ? 45

CATESBY. Bad news, my lord : Morton is fled to Richmond,
And Buckingham, back'd with the hardy Welshmen,
Is in the field, and still his power increaseth.

KING RICHARD. Ely with Richmond troubles me more near
Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength. 50

35. TYRREL. I . . . leave Ff | Qq omit.

37. *daughter . . . marriage.* The daughter of Clarence was in fact married to Sir Richard Pole, and became the mother of Cardinal Pole. Sir Richard was half brother to the Countess of Richmond. — *meanly* : humbly (as opposed to 'nobly').

40. *Breton.* He thus names Richmond because after the battle of Tewksbury he had taken refuge at the court of Francis II, Duke of Bretagne.

46. *Morton.* The Bishop of Ely. The Quartos read 'Ely.' Ely had been put into Buckingham's custody at Brecknock.

Come, I have learn'd that fearful commenting
 Is leaden servitor to dull delay;
 Delay leads impotent and snail-pac'd beggary:
 Then fiery expedition be my wing,
 Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king! 55
 Go, muster men; my counsel is my shield.
 We must be brief, when traitors brave the field. *Exeunt*

SCENE IV. [*The same. Before the palace*]*Enter old* QUEEN MARGARET

QUEEN MARGARET. So, now prosperity begins to mellow,
 And drop into the rotten mouth of death.
 Here in these confines slily have I lurk'd,
 To watch the waning of mine enemies.
 A dire induction am I witness to, 5
 And will to France, hoping the consequence
 Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.
 Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret: who comes here?
 [*Retires*]

51-52. fearful commenting . . . dull delay: cowardly negation is the leaden servant of dull procrastination.

54. Let my action be winged with the speed of lightning.

55. Jove's Mercury. Cf. 'winged Mercury,' II, i, 87.

56. counsel . . . shield: my shield is my counsel. He means that he is going to debate the issue not with words, but with the sword.

SCENE IV. In this scene of the wailing queens the dramatic convention of lyrical lamentation is more marked than elsewhere in Elizabethan tragedy. "We take leave of Margaret of Anjou, that 'she-wolf of France,' who has been almost as much the presiding evil genius of the last two parts of *Henry VI* as Richard is of this." — Verplanck.

5. induction: prologue, preparation, introduction. Cf. I, i, 32,

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH *and the* DUCHESS OF YORK

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Ah, my poor princes! ah, my tender babes!

My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets! 10

If yet your gentle souls fly in the air,

And be not fix'd in doom perpetual,

Hover about me with your airy wings,

And hear your mother's lamentation!

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] Hover about her; say, that right for right 15

Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.

DUCHESS. So many miseries have craz'd my voice

That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute.

Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead?

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet, 20

Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,

And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?

When didst thou sleep when such a deed was done?

10. unblown Qq | unblowed Ff.

20, 21, 28. Qq omit.

15. right for right: "justice answering to the claim of justice." — Johnson. Cf. line 140.

16. aged night: the darkness that death brings to the aged.

20. quit. The word means both 'acquit' and 'requite.' "Here used to express comprehensively 'requite the death of' and 'acquit the crime of.'" — Cowden Clarke.

21. a dying debt: a debt that can only be paid by death.

24. Cf. the words of Macduff when he hears of the death of his wife and children, *Macbeth*, IV, iii, 223-224: "Did heaven look on and would not take their part?"

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Aside*] When holy Harry died, and
my sweet son. 25

DUCHESS. Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal living ghost,
Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurp'd,
Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth, [*Sitting down*]
Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood! 30

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Ah, that thou wouldst as soon afford
a grave
As thou canst yield a melancholy seat!
Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here.
Ah, who hath any cause to mourn but I?

[*Sitting down by her*]

QUEEN MARGARET. [*Coming forward*] If ancient sorrow
be most reverend, 35
Give mine the benefit of seniority,
And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.
If sorrow can admit society, [*Sitting down with them*]
Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine.
I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him; 40
I had a Harry, till a Richard kill'd him:
Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.

DUCHESS. I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him;
I had a Rutland too, thou holp'st to kill him. 45

39. Tell . . . mine Qq | Ff omit.

41. Harry Camb | Henry Capell;
Richard Qq | Husband Ff.

29. lawful. Perhaps merely a verbal antithesis to 'unlawfully' (line 30). Or is England regarded as the proper seat of order and law?

35. ancient: long-standing, venerable. — reverend. Cf. IV, i, 30.

36. seniority: seniority. The 'benefit' referred to is priority.

37. frown on the upper hand: take precedence over yours.

QUEEN MARGARET. Thou hadst a Clarence too, and
Richard kill'd him.

From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death ;
That dog that had his teeth before his eyes,
To worry lambs and lap their gentle blood, 50
That foul defacer of God's handiwork,
That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls,
Thy womb let loose to chase us to our graves.
O upright, just, and true-disposing God, 55
How do I thank thee that this carnal cur
Preys on the issue of his mother's body,
And makes her pew-fellow with others' moan !

DUCHESS. O Harry's wife, triumph not in my woes !
God witness with me, I have wept for thine. 60

QUEEN MARGARET. Bear with me ; I am hungry for
revenge,
And now I cloy me with beholding it.

49. *teeth*. Alluding to the tradition that Richard was born with
teeth. Cf. II, iv, 27-28 ; 3 *Henry VI*, V, vi, 74-77 :

the women cried,
' O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth !'
And so I was ; which plainly signified
That I should snarl and bite and play the dog.

51-52. These lines, omitted in the Quartos, are transposed in the
Folios. Capell arranged them as in the present text.

53. *galled eyes* : eyes inflamed with weeping, made red with ' eye-
offending brine.' Cf. *Hamlet*, I, ii, 154-155 :

Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears
Had left the flushing in her galled eyes.

56. *carnal* : carnivorous, blood-thirsty. And thus ' cruel.'

58. *pew-fellow* : companion (literally, ' sharer of the same pew').

Thy Edward he is dead, that kill'd my Edward ;
 Thy other Edward dead, to quit my Edward ;
 Young York he is but boot, because both they 65
 Match not the high perfection of my loss.
 Thy Clarence he is dead, that stabb'd my Edward ;
 And the beholders of this tragic play,
 Th' adulterate Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,
 Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves. 70
 Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer,
 Only reserv'd their factor to buy souls
 And send them thither ; but at hand, at hand,
 Ensues his piteous and unpitied end :
Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray, 75
To have him suddenly convey'd from hence.
Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,
That I may live to say, The dog is dead !

QUEEN ELIZABETH. O, thou didst prophesy the time
would come
That I should wish for thee to help me curse 80
That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd toad !

QUEEN MARGARET. I call'd thee then vain flourish of
 my fortune ;
 I call'd thee then poor shadow, painted queen ;
 The presentation of but what I was,

65. *boot*: anything thrown into a bargain. So in V, iii, 301.

71. *intelligencer*: informer, spy, agent. Cf. *2 Henry IV*, IV, ii, 20.

72. *their*. Refers to 'hell' (line 71), personified as the infernal powers. Cf. 'them,' I, iii, 220. — *factor*: one who acts on behalf of another.

77. *bond of life*. The image is of a deed or indenture securing a life-tenure of property. Cf. *Macbeth*, III, ii, 49-50: "Cancel and tear to pieces that great bond Which keeps me pale !"

The flattering index of a direful pageant, 85
 One heaved a-high, to be hurl'd down below ;
 A mother only mock'd with two sweet babes ;
 A dream of what thou wert ; a breath, a bubble ;
 A sign of dignity, a garish flag
 To be the aim of every dangerous shot ; 90
 A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.
 Where is thy husband now ? where be thy brothers ?
 Where be thy two sons ? wherein dost thou joy ?
 Who sues to thee, and cries, ' God save the queen ' ?
 Where be the bending peers that flattered thee ? 95
 Where be the thronging troops that followed thee ?
 Decline all this and see what now thou art.
 For happy wife, a most distressed widow ;
 For joyful mother, one that wails the name ;
 For queen, a very caitiff crown'd with care ; 100
 For one being sued to, one that humbly sues ;
 For one that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me :
 For one commanding all, obey'd of none ;
Thus hath the course of justice wheel'd about,
And left thee but a very prey to time ; 105
 Having no more but thought of what thou wert,
 To torture thee the more, being what thou art.
 Thou didst usurp my place, and dost thou not
 Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow ?

100, 101. Qq | Ff transpose.

101, 102, 103. one Qq | she Ff.

102, 103. Ff | Qq transpose.

89-90. Alluding to "the dangerous situation of those to whose care the standards of armies were intrusted." — Steevens.

97. **decline**: recite the cases of, run through.

102. After this line the Folios insert 'For she being fear'd of all, now fearing one.'

Now thy proud neck bears half my burden'd yoke ; 110
 From which even here I slip my wearied head,
 And leave the burden of it all on thee.

Farewell, York's wife, and queen of sad mischance ;
These English woes will make me smile in France.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. O thou well-skill'd in curses, stay
awhile, 115

And teach me how to curse mine enemies !

QUEEN MARGARET. Forbear to sleep the night, and fast
 the day ;

— Compare dead happiness with living woe ;
 Think that thy babes were fairer than they were,
 And he that slew them fouler than he is : 120
 Bett'ring thy loss makes the bad causer worse ;
 Revolving this will teach thee how to curse.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. My words are dull ; O, quicken them
 with thine !

QUEEN MARGARET. Thy woes will make them sharp, and
 pierce like mine. *Exit*

DUCHESS. Why should calamity be full of words ? 125

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Windy attorneys to their client woes,
 Airy succeders of intestate joys,
 Poor breathing orators of miseries !

121. The greater you conceive your loss to be, the worse the
 author of it will seem. — Bett'ring : exaggerating, magnifying.

123. quicken : give life to, revive. Cf. 'quick,' I, ii, 65.

126. Windy attorneys : words. Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 335-336,
 where the tongue is the heart's attorney :

But when the heart's attorney once is mute,
 The client breaks, as desperate in his suit.

127-128. Airy . . . miseries : the joys have died intestate, and mere
 verbal complaints are their successors, inheriting nothing but misery.

Let them have scope ! though what they will impart
 Help nothing else, yet do they ease the heart. 130

DUCHESS. If so, then be not tongue-tied ; go with me,
 And in the breath of bitter words let 's smother
 My damned son, that thy two sweet sons smother'd.
 The trumpet sounds : be copious in exclaims.

*Enter KING RICHARD and his train, marching, with drums
 and trumpets*

KING RICHARD. Who intercepts me in my expedition ? 135

DUCHESS. O, she that might have intercepted thee,
 By strangling thee in her accursed womb,
 From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done !

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Hidest thou that forehead with a
 golden crown,
 Where should be branded, if that right were right, 140
 The slaughter of the prince that ow'd that crown,
 And the dire death of my poor sons and brothers ?
 Tell me, thou villain slave, where are my children ?

DUCHESS. Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy brother
 Clarence ?
 And little Ned Plantagenet, his son ? 145

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Where is the gentle Rivers, Vaughan,
 Grey ?

DUCHESS. Where is kind Hastings ?

KING RICHARD. A flourish, trumpets ! strike alarum,
 drums !

Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women

134. The trumpet sounds Ff | I hear his drum Qq.

130. they ease the heart. Cf. *Macbeth*, IV, iii, 209-210.

141. ow'd : owned, was rightful possessor of. Often so.

Rail on the Lord's anointed. Strike, I say ! 150

Flourish. Alarum

Either be patient, and entreat me fair,
Or with the clamorous report of war
Thus will I drown your exclamations.

DUCHESS. Art thou my son ?

KING RICHARD. Ay, I thank God, my father, and yourself.

DUCHESS. Then patiently hear my impatience. 156

KING RICHARD. Madam, I have a touch of your condition,
That cannot brook the accent of reproof.

DUCHESS. O, let me speak !

KING RICHARD. Do then ; but I'll not hear.

DUCHESS. I will be mild and gentle in my words. 160

KING RICHARD. And brief, good mother, for I am in haste.

DUCHESS. Art thou so hasty ? I have stay'd for thee,
God knows, in torment and in agony.

KING RICHARD. And came I not at last to comfort you ?

DUCHESS. No, by the holy rood, thou know'st it well, 165
Thou cam'st on earth to make the earth my hell.
A grievous burden was thy birth to me ;
Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy ;
Thy school-days frightful, desperate, wild, and furious ;
Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous ; 170
Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, bloody, treacherous,
More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred :
What comfortable hour canst thou name,
That ever grac'd me in thy company ?

159, 172. Qq omit.

157. condition : disposition, temper. Cf. *As You Like It*, I, ii, 276.

168. Tetchy : peevish. Now corrupted to 'touchy.' See Skeat.

173. comfortable : comforting, cheering. See Abbott, §§ 3, 445.

KING RICHARD. Faith, none, but Humphrey Hour, that
call'd your grace 175

To breakfast once forth of my company.

If I be so disgracious in your eye,

Let me march on, and not offend you, madam.

Strike up the drum.

DUCHESS. I prithee, hear me speak.

KING RICHARD. You speak too bitterly.

DUCHESS. Hear me a word; 180

For I shall never speak to thee again.

KING RICHARD. So.

DUCHESS. Either thou wilt die, by God's just ordinance,
Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror,

Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish, 185

And never look upon thy face again.

Therefore take with thee my most heavy curse;

175. Hour | Houre Qq | Hower Ff. 179. Strike . . . drum Ff | Qq omit.

175-176. *Humphrey Hour . . . my company.* No satisfactory explanation of the passage has yet been suggested. Malone's conjecture is that the expression 'Humphrey Hour' was "used in ludicrous language for 'hour,' like 'Tom Troth' for 'truth.'" Steevens thinks that "Shakespeare might by this strange phrase, 'Humphrey Hour,' have designed to mark the hour at which the good Duchess was as hungry as the followers of Duke Humphrey." A part of St. Paul's Cathedral was called Duke Humphrey's Walk, because Humphrey, sometime Duke of Gloucester, was supposed to be buried there. As the old Cathedral was a place of great resort, those who were hard up for a dinner used to saunter there, perhaps in the hope of being asked to dinner by some of their acquaintance. Hence came the phrase "dining with Duke Humphrey," used of those who "waited upon Providence" for a chance to eat. Cf. Nash, *Wonderful Prognostication* (1591): "Sundry fellowes . . . shall . . . keepe duke Humfrye company in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners abroad."—*forth of*: out of, away from.

Which in the day of battle tire thee more
 Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st!
 My prayers on the adverse party fight; 190
 And there the little souls of Edward's children
 Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
 And promise them success and victory.
Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end;
Shame serves thy life and doth thy death attend. *Exit* 195

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Though far more cause, yet much
 less spirit to curse

Abides in me; I say amen to her. [*Going*]

KING RICHARD. Stay, madam; I must speak a word
 with you.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. I have no more sons of the royal blood
 For thee to murder; for my daughters, Richard, 200
 They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens,
 And therefore level not to hit their lives.

KING RICHARD. You have a daughter call'd Elizabeth,
 Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. And must she die for this? O, let
 her live, 205

And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty,
 Slander myself as false to Edward's bed,
 Throw over her the vale of infamy!

So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter,
 I will confess she was not Edward's daughter. 210

KING RICHARD. Wrong not her birth, she is of royal blood.

199. more Q2 Ff | moe Q1.

200. murder Qq | slaughter Ff.

211-217. A good example of stichomythia, the dialogue in alternate lines, with one speaker opposing or correcting the other. Cf. lines 343-361. Such dialogue in Shakespeare is found only in the earlier plays.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. To save her life, I'll say she is not so.

KING RICHARD. Her life is safest only in her birth.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. And only in that safety died her brothers.

KING RICHARD. Lo, at their births good stars were opposite. 215

QUEEN ELIZABETH. No, to their lives bad friends were contrary.

KING RICHARD. All unavoids is the doom of destiny.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. True, when avoids grace makes destiny.

My babes were destin'd to a fairer death,

If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life. 220

KING RICHARD. You speak as if that I had slain my cousins.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Cousins, indeed; and by their uncle cozen'd

Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.

Whose hand soever lanc'd their tender hearts,

Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction: 225

No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt

Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,

To revel in the entrails of my lambs.

But that still use of grief makes wild grief tame,

My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys 230

221-234. Qq omit.

215. *opposite*: at enmity. Cf. line 402, also II, ii, 94.

217. *unavoided*: unavoidable. In Elizabethan English the endings '-ed' and '-able' are often used indiscriminately.

225. *indirectly*: wrongfully, wickedly. A play on 'direction.' Cf. *Hamlet*, II, i, 66: "By indirections find directions out."

229. *still*: continual. Cf. 'still lasting,' line 344.

Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes ;
And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.

KING RICHARD. Madam, so thrive I in my enterprise 235
And dangerous success of bloody wars
As I intend more good to you and yours
Than ever you and yours by me were harm'd !

QUEEN ELIZABETH. What good is cover'd with the face
of heaven,
To be discover'd, that can do me good ? 240

KING RICHARD. The advancement of your children, gentle
lady.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Up to some scaffold, there to lose
their heads ?

KING RICHARD. No, to the dignity and height of honour,
The high imperial type of this earth's glory.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Flatter my sorrows with report of it ;
Tell me what state, what dignity, what honour, 246
Canst thou demise to any child of mine ?

KING RICHARD. Even all I have ; ay, and myself and all,
Will I withal endow a child of thine ;
So in the Lethe of thy angry soul 250
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs
Which thou supposest I have done to thee.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Be brief, lest that the process of thy
kindness

238. harm'd Ff | wrong'd Qq.

236. dangerous success : doubtful issue, hazardous result.

244. The reference is to the crown, the emblem of royalty.

247. demise : grant, bestow. Found nowhere else in Shakespeare.

Edward and York ; then haply will she weep :
Therefore present to her — as sometime Margaret
Did to thy father, steep'd in Rutland's blood — 275
A handkerchief, which, say to her, did drain
The purple sap from her sweet brother's body
And bid her dry her weeping eyes withal.
If this inducement move her not to love,
Send her a letter of thy noble deeds ; 280
Tell her thou mad'st away her uncle Clarence,
Her uncle Rivers ; ay, and, for her sake,
Madest quick conveyance with her good aunt Anne.

KING RICHARD. You mock me, madam ; this is not the way
To win your daughter.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. There's no other way ; 285
Unless thou couldst put on some other shape,
And not be Richard that hath done all this.

KING RICHARD. Say that I did all this for love of her ?

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Nay, then indeed she cannot choose
but hate thee,
Having bought love with such a bloody spoil. 290

KING RICHARD. Look, what is done cannot be now
amended ;

Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,
Which after-hours give leisure to repent.
If I did take the kingdom from your sons,
To make amends I'll give it to your daughter. 295
If I have kill'd the issue of your womb,
To quicken your increase, I will beget
Mine issue of your blood upon your daughter.

276-277. which . . . body Ff | Qq omit. 289-342. Qq omit.

292. shall deal unadvisedly : cannot help acting rashly.

A grandam's name is little less in love
 Than is the doting title of a mother ; 300
 They are as children but one step below,
 Even of your mettle, of your very blood ;
 Of all one pain, save for a night of groans
 Endur'd of her, for whom you bid like sorrow.
 Your children were vexation to your youth ; 305
 But mine shall be a comfort to your age.
 The loss you have is but a son being king,
 And by that loss your daughter is made queen.
 I cannot make you what amends I would,
 Therefore accept such kindness as I can. 310
 Dorset your son, that with a fearful soul
 Leads discontented steps in foreign soil,
 This fair alliance quickly shall call home
 To high promotions and great dignity :
 The king that calls your beauteous daughter wife 315
 Familiarly shall call thy Dorset brother :
 Again shall you be mother to a king,
 And all the ruins of distressful times
 Repair'd with double riches of content.
 What ! we have many goodly days to see : 320
 The liquid drops of tears that you have shed
 Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl,
 Advantaging their loan with interest
 Of ten times double gain of happiness.
 Go, then, my mother, to thy daughter go ; 325
 Make bold her bashful years with your experience ;

323. loan Theobald | love Ff.

324. Of ten times Theobald | Oftentimes Ff.

304. bid : bore, endured. The past tense of 'bide.'

Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale ;
Put in her tender heart th' aspiring flame
Of golden sovereignty ; acquaint the princess
With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys : 330
And, when this arm of mine hath chastised
The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed ;
To whom I will retail my conquest won, 335
And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. What were I best to say ? her father's
brother

Would be her lord ? or shall I say her uncle ?
Or he that slew her brothers and her uncles ?
Under what title shall I woo for thee, 340
That God, the law, my honour, and her love,
Can make seem pleasing to her tender years ?

KING RICHARD. Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Which she shall purchase with still
lasting war.

KING RICHARD. Tell her the king, that may command,
entreats. 345

QUEEN ELIZABETH. That at her hands which the king's
King forbids.

KING RICHARD. Say she shall be a high and mighty queen.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. To wail the title, as her mother doth.

KING RICHARD. Say I will love her everlastingly.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. But how long shall that title 'ever' last ?

KING RICHARD. Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end.

343. *Infer* : bring in. See note, III, v, 74, and cf. III, vii, 12.

344. *still lasting* : everlasting, endless. With 'still' cf. line 229.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. But how long fairly shall her sweet
life last? 352

KING RICHARD. As long as heaven and nature lengthens it.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. As long as hell and Richard likes of it.

KING RICHARD. Say, I, her sovereign, am her subject low.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. But she, your subject, loathes such
sovereignty. 356

KING RICHARD. Be eloquent in my behalf to her.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. An honest tale speeds best being
plainly told.

KING RICHARD. Then plainly to her tell my loving tale.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Plain and not honest is too harsh a
style. 360

KING RICHARD. Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. O, no, my reasons are too deep and
dead;

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

KING RICHARD. Harp not on that string, madam; that
is past.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Harp on it still shall I till heart-strings
break. 365

KING RICHARD. Now, by my George, my garter, and my
crown, —

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Profaned, dishonour'd, and the third
usurp'd.

KING RICHARD. I swear —

355. low Ff | love Qq.

361-362. quick . . . dead. Richard uses 'quick' in the sense of 'ready'; the queen takes it in that of 'alive.'

366. The figure of St. George and the Dragon was not added to the insignia of the Garter until Henry VIII's reign.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. By nothing ; for this is no oath.
Thy George, profan'd, hath lost his holy honour ;
Thy garter, blemish'd, pawn'd his knightly virtue ; 370
Thy crown, usurp'd, disgrac'd his kingly glory.
If something thou wouldst swear to be believ'd,
Swear then by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

KING RICHARD. Now, by the world, —

QUEEN ELIZABETH. 'T is full of thy foul wrongs.

KING RICHARD. My father's death, —

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Thy life hath that dishonour'd. 375

KING RICHARD. Then, by myself, —

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Thyself thyself misusest.

KING RICHARD. Why then by God, —

QUEEN ELIZABETH. God's wrong is most of all.

If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,
The unity the king thy brother made
Had not been broken, nor my brother slain. 380
If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,
Th' imperial metal, circling now thy head,
Had grac'd the tender temples of my child ;
And both the princes had been breathing here,
Which now, two tender bedfellows for dust, 385
Thy broken faith hath made a prey for worms.
What canst thou swear by now ?

KING RICHARD. The time to come.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. That thou hast wronged in the time
o'erpast ;

For I myself have many tears to wash
Hereafter time, for time past wrong'd by thee. 390
The children live whose parents thou hast slaughter'd,
Ungovern'd youth, to wail it with their age ;

The parents live whose children thou hast butcher'd,
 Old barren plants, to wail it with their age.
 Swear not by time to come; for that thou hast 395
 Misus'd ere us'd, by time misus'd o'erpast.

KING RICHARD. As I intend to prosper and repent,
 So thrive I in my dangerous affairs
 Of hostile arms! myself myself confound!
 Heaven and fortune bar me happy hours! 400
 Day, yield me not thy light; nor, night, thy rest!
 Be opposite all planets of good luck
 To my proceeding! if, with pure heart's love,
 Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
 I tender not thy beauteous princely daughter! 405
 In her consists my happiness and thine;
 Without her follows to myself and thee,
 Herself, the land, and many a Christian soul,
 Death, desolation, ruin, and decay:
 It cannot be avoided but by this; 410
 It will not be avoided but by this.
 Therefore, dear mother — I must call you so —
 Be the attorney of my love to her.
 Plead what I will be, not what I have been;
 Not my deserts, but what I will deserve: 415
 Urge the necessity and state of times,
 And be not peevish fond in great designs.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?

396. o'erpast Qq | repast Ff.

400, 429. Qq omit.

412. dear Ff | good Qq.

417. fond Qq | found Ff.

402. opposite: at enmity. Cf. line 215, also II, ii, 94.

405. tender: regard, hold dear. See note, I, i, 44.

417. peevish fond. childishly foolish. Cf. I, iii, 195; IV, ii, 99.
 Both 'fond' and 'peevish' are used by Shakespeare for 'foolish.'

KING RICHARD. Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Shall I forget myself to be myself?

KING RICHARD. Ay, if yourself's remembrance wrong
yourself. 421

QUEEN ELIZABETH. But thou didst kill my children.

KING RICHARD. But in your daughter's womb I bury
them :

Where, in that nest of spicery, they shall breed

Selves of themselves, to your recomforture. 425

QUEEN ELIZABETH. Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?

KING RICHARD. And be a happy mother by the deed.

QUEEN ELIZABETH. I go. Write to me very shortly,
And you shall understand from me her mind.

KING RICHARD. Bear her my true love's kiss ; and so,
farewell. *Exit* QUEEN ELIZABETH 430

Relenting fool, and shallow changing woman !

Enter RATCLIFF [*CATESBY following*]

How now ! what news ?

RATCLIFF. My gracious sovereign, on the western coast
Rideth a puissant navy ; to the shore

Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends, 435

Unarm'd, and unresolv'd to beat them back.

'Tis thought that Richmond is their admiral ;

425. *recomforture* : comfort. Found nowhere else in Shakespeare.

426. *go win*. For the omission of 'to' see Abbott, §§ 349.

428-429. This representation is in substance historical ; and some of the old chroniclers are rather hard on Elizabeth for thus yielding to Richard's persuasions. But there is good reason to think that she outwitted him, and that her consent was but feigned to gain time, and to save her daughter from the fate that had overtaken her sons.

And there they hull, expecting but the aid
Of Buckingham to welcome them ashore.

KING RICHARD. Some light-foot friend post to the Duke
of Norfolk ; 440

Ratcliff, thyself, or Catesby ; where is he ?

CATESBY. Here, my good lord.

KING RICHARD. Fly to the duke. — [*To RATCLIFF*] Post
thou to Salisbury :

When thou com'st thither, — [*To CATESBY*] Dull, unmindful
villain,

Why stand'st thou still, and go'st not to the duke ? 445

CATESBY. First, mighty liege, tell me your highness'
pleasure,

What from your grace I shall deliver to him.

KING RICHARD. O, true, good Catesby. Bid him levy
straight

The greatest strength and power he can make,

And meet me suddenly at Salisbury. 450

CATESBY. I go. *Exit*

RATCLIFF. What, may it please you, shall I do at Salisbury ?

KING RICHARD. Why, what wouldst thou do there before
I go ?

RATCLIFF. Your highness told me I should post before.

Enter LORD STANLEY

KING RICHARD. My mind is chang'd. — Stanley, what
news with you ? 455

438. hull : float about with sails furled, 'lie to.'

443. The text follows the Quartos. The Folios read :

RICH. *Catesby*, flye to the Duke.

CAT. I will, my Lord, with all convenient haste.

RICH. *Catesby* come hither, poste to Salisbury :

STANLEY. None good, my liege, to please you with the hearing;

Nor none so bad, but may well be reported.

KING RICHARD. Heyday, a riddle! neither good nor bad! What need'st thou run so many miles about, When thou mayst tell thy tale the nearest way? 460
Once more, what news?

STANLEY. Richmond is on the seas.

KING RICHARD. There let him sink, and be the seas on him, White-liver'd runagate! what doth he there?

STANLEY. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.

KING RICHARD. Well, as you guess? 465

STANLEY. Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Ely, He makes for England, here to claim the crown.

KING RICHARD. Is the chair empty? is the sword unsway'd?

Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?

What heir of York is there alive but we? 470

And who is England's king but great York's heir?

Then tell me what makes he upon the seas?

STANLEY. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

KING RICHARD. Unless for that he comes to be your liege, You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes. 475
Thou wilt revolt, and fly to him, I fear.

STANLEY. No, mighty liege; therefore mistrust me not.

463. *White-liver'd runagate*: cowardly vagabond. Cowards were commonly spoken of as having white livers. Shakespeare has 'lily-liver'd' and 'milk-liver'd' in the same sense. In V, iii, 325, Richard calls Richmond a 'milk-sop.' Richmond had in fact escaped the fate of the Lancastrian leaders by fleeing into France.

475. *the Welshman*. A sneering reference to the fact that Richmond's father, Edmund Tudor, was Welsh.

KING RICHARD. Where is thy power then to beat him back?
Where be thy tenants and thy followers?

Are they not now upon the western shore, 480
Safe-conducting the rebels from their ships?

STANLEY. No, my good lord, my friends are in the north.

KING RICHARD. Cold friends to me! what do they in
the north,

When they should serve their sovereign in the west?

STANLEY. They have not been commanded, mighty king.
Pleaseth your majesty to give me leave, 486

I'll muster up my friends, and meet your grace
Where and what time your majesty shall please.

KING RICHARD. Ay, ay, thou wouldst be gone to join
with Richmond;

I will not trust you, sir.

STANLEY. Most mighty sovereign, 490
You have no cause to hold my friendship doubtful.
I never was nor never will be false.

KING RICHARD. Go, then, and muster men. But leave behind
Your son, George Stanley. Look your faith be firm,
Or else his head's assurance is but frail. 495

STANLEY. So deal with him as I prove true to you. *Exit*

Enter a Messenger

MESSENGER. My gracious sovereign, now in Devonshire,
As I by friends am well advertised,
Sir Edward Courtney and the haughty prelate
Bishop of Exeter, his elder brother, 500
With many moe confederates, are in arms.

498. advertised: informed. The accent is on the second syllable.

501. moe: more. Used regularly only in the plural.

Enter another Messenger

2 MESSENGER. In Kent, my liege, the Guildfords are in arms;

And every hour more competitors

Flock to the rebels, and their power grows strong.

Enter another Messenger

3 MESSENGER. My lord, the army of great Buckingham —

KING RICHARD. Out on ye, owls! nothing but songs of death?

He striketh him 506

There, take thou that, till thou bring better news.

3 MESSENGER. The news I have to tell your majesty

Is, that by sudden floods and fall of waters

Buckingham's army is dispers'd and scatter'd;

510

And he himself wand'ring away alone,

No man knows whither.

KING RICHARD. I cry thee mercy;

There is my purse to cure that blow of thine.

Hath any well-advised friend proclaim'd

Reward to him that brings the traitor in?

515

3 MESSENGER. Such proclamation hath been made, my lord.

Enter another Messenger

4 MESSENGER. Sir Thomas Lovel and Lord Marquess Dorset,

'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms.

But this good comfort bring I to your highness,

503. competitors : confederates (without any suggestion of rivalry).

506. owls . . . death. The owl's note was considered ill-boding. Cf. *Macbeth*, II, ii, 3: "It was the owl that shriek'd, the fatal bellman."

The Breton navy is dispers'd by tempest. 520
 Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat
 Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks
 If they were his assistants, yea or no ;
 Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham
 Upon his party : he, mistrusting them, 525
 Hois'd sail and made his course again for Brittany.

KING RICHARD. March on, march on, since we are up
 in arms ;
 If not to fight with foreign enemies,
 Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.

Re-enter CATESBY

CATESBY. My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken : 530
 That is the best news : that the Earl of Richmond
 Is with a mighty power landed at Milford
 Is colder tidings, yet they must be told.

KING RICHARD. Away towards Salisbury ! while we
 reason here,
 A royal battle might be won and lost. 535
 Some one take order Buckingham be brought
 To Salisbury ; the rest march on with me. *Flourish. Exeunt*

525. Upon his party : to take part with him, to fight on his side.

532. Milford. The Earl of Richmond embarked with about two thousand men at Harfleur, in Normandy, August 1, 1485, and landed at Milford Haven on the 7th. He directed his course to Wales, hoping the Welsh would receive him cordially as their countryman, he having been born at Pembroke, and his grandfather being Owen Tudor, who married Katharine of France, widow of Henry V and mother of Henry VI.

534. reason : talk. As in I, iv, 157 ; II, iii, 39.

536. take order : adopt measures, give directions. Cf. IV, ii, 52.

SCENE V. [*A room in LORD STANLEY'S house*]*Enter STANLEY and SIR CHRISTOPHER [URSWICK]*

STANLEY. Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me :
 That in the sty of this most bloody boar
 My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold ;
 If I revolt, off goes young George's head ;
 The fear of that holds off my present aid. 5
 So get thee gone ; commend me to thy lord.
 Withal say that the queen hath heartily consented
 He should espouse Elizabeth her daughter.
 But, tell me, where is princely Richmond now ?

CHRISTOPHER. At Pembroke, or at Ha'rford-West, in
 Wales. 10

STANLEY. What men of name resort to him ?

CHRISTOPHER. Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier ;
 Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Stanley ;
 Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, Sir James Blunt,
 And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew, 15
 And many other of great name and worth :
 And towards London do they bend their power,
 If by the way they be not fought withal.

STANLEY. Return unto thy lord ; commend me to him.
 Tell him the queen hath heartily consented 20
 He shall espouse Elizabeth her daughter.
 These letters will resolve him of my mind. [*Giving letters*]
 Farewell. *Exeunt*

2. **this most bloody** Qq | the most deadly Ff. 6-8, 20-21. Qq omit.

3. **frank'd** : confined as in a 'frank' or 'sty.' Cf. I, iii, 315.

10. **Ha'rford-West** : Haverford-West. Nearly north of Pembroke.

ACT V

SCENE I. [*Salisbury. An open place*]

Enter [the Sheriff, and] BUCKINGHAM, with halberds, led to execution

BUCKINGHAM. Will not King Richard let me speak with him?

SHERIFF. No, my good lord; therefore be patient.

BUCKINGHAM. Hastings, and Edward's children, Rivers, Grey,

Holy King Henry, and thy fair son Edward,
Vaughan, and all that have miscarried 5
By underhand corrupted foul injustice,
If that your moody discontented souls
Do through the clouds behold this present hour,
Even for revenge mock my destruction!
This is All-Souls' day, fellows, is it not? 10

SHERIFF. It is, my lord.

BUCKINGHAM. Why, then All-Souls' day is my body's doomsday.

This is the day that, in King Edward's time,
I wish'd might fall on me when I was found
False to his children or his wife's allies; 15

12. All-Souls' day: November 2. According to the tradition of the Church, the souls of the dead enter this day into special communion with the living.

This is the day wherein I wish'd to fall
 By the false faith of him I trusted most ;
 This, this All-Souls' day to my fearful soul
 Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs.
 That high All-seer that I dallied with 20
 Hath turn'd my feigned prayer on my head,
 And given in earnest what I begg'd in jest.
 Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men
 To turn their own points on their masters' bosoms ;
 Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on my neck : 25
 'When he,' quoth she, 'shall split thy heart with sorrow,
 Remember Margaret was a prophetess.'
 Come, sirs, convey me to the block of shame ;
 Wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of blame.

Exeunt

SCENE II. [*The camp near Tamworth*]

Enter RICHMOND, OXFORD, BLUNT, HERBERT, *and others,*
with drum and colours

RICHMOND. Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,
 Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny,

25. falls . . . neck Ff | is fallen upon my head Qq.

19. determin'd . . . wrongs: appointed time to which the punishment of my wrong-doing has been deferred.

1. *Enter* RICHMOND, OXFORD. On his father's side the Earl of Richmond was grandson to Owen Tudor. His mother was Margaret, daughter and heir to John Beaufort, the first Duke of Somerset, and great-granddaughter to John of Ghent by Catharine Swynford ; on which account, after the death of Henry VI and his son, he was looked to by both friends and foes as the next male representative of the Lancastrian line. Many of the Yorkists accepted him because

Thus far into the bowels of the land
 Have we march'd on without impediment ;
 And here receive we from our father Stanley 5
 Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
 The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
 That spoil'd your summer fields and fruitful vines,
 Swills your warm blood like wash, and makes his trough
 In your embowell'd bosoms, — this foul swine 10
 Lies now even in the centre of this isle,
 Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn ;
 From Tamworth thither is but one day's march.
 In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
 To reap the harvest of perpetual peace 15
 By this one bloody trial of sharp war.

OXFORD. Every man's conscience is a thousand swords,
 To fight against this guilty homicide.

HERBERT. I doubt not but his friends will turn to us.

BLUNT. He hath no friends but what are friends for fear,
 Which in his dearest need will shrink from him. 21

RICHMOND. All for our vantage. Then, in God's name,
 march.

True hope is swift, and flies with swallow's wings ;
 Kings it makes gods, and meaner creatures kings. *Exeunt*

17. swords Qq | men Ff.

18. guilty Qq | bloody Ff.

of his having bound himself by solemn oath to marry the Princess Elizabeth, whom they of course considered the rightful heir to the crown after the death of her brothers. The Earl of Oxford was John de Vere, whose character, together with that of his son Arthur, is finely delineated in Scott's *Anne of Geierstein*.

3. bowels of the land. Once a common metaphor. Cf. the expression 'heart of the country.'

21. dearest need : urgent extremity.

SCENE III. [*Bosworth field*]

Enter KING RICHARD, *in arms, with* NORFOLK, the EARL OF SURREY, RATCLIFF [*and others*]

KING RICHARD. Here pitch our tents, even here in
Bosworth field.

My Lord of Surrey, why look you so sad?

SURREY. My heart is ten times lighter than my looks.

KING RICHARD. My Lord of Norfolk, —

NORFOLK

Here, most gracious liege.

KING RICHARD. Norfolk, we must have knocks; ha!
must we not? 5

NORFOLK. We must both give and take, my loving lord.

KING RICHARD. Up with my tent! here will I lie
to-night; [*Soldiers begin to set up his tent*]

But where to-morrow? Well, all 's one for that.

Who hath descried the number of the traitors?

NORFOLK. Six or seven thousand is their utmost power. 10

KING RICHARD. Why, our battalion trebles that account ;

Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,

Which they upon the adverse party want.

Up with the tent ! Come, noble gentlemen,

Let us survey the vantage of the ground.

Call for some men of sound direction.

11. battalion Qq | battalia Ff.

15. ground Ff | field Qq.

11. **trebles.** Richmond's forces are said to have been only five thousand; and Richard's army consisted of about twelve thousand. But Lord Stanley lay at a small distance with three thousand men, and Richard may be supposed to have reckoned on them as his friends, though the event proved otherwise.

16. **sound direction**: capacity for directing military movements.

Let's lack no discipline, make no delay,
For, lords, to-morrow is a busy day. [*Exeunt*]

Enter [on the other side of the field] RICHMOND, SIR WILLIAM BRANDON, OXFORD, DORSET [and others. Some of the Soldiers pitch RICHMOND'S tent]

RICHMOND. The weary sun hath made a golden set,
And by the bright track of his fiery car 20
Gives token of a goodly day to-morrow.
Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard.
Give me some ink and paper in my tent;
I'll draw the form and model of our battle,
Limit each leader to his several charge, 25
And part in just proportion our small power.
My Lord of Oxford, you, Sir William Brandon,
And you, Sir Walter Herbert, stay with me.
The Earl of Pembroke keeps his regiment;
Good Captain Blunt, bear my good-night to him, 30
And by the second hour in the morning
Desire the earl to see me in my tent.
Yet one thing more, good captain, do for me;
Where is Lord Stanley quarter'd, do you know?

BLUNT. Unless I have mista'en his colours much, 35
Which well I am assur'd I have not done,

17. lack Ff | want Qq.

21. token Ff | signal Qq.

26. power Ff | strength Qq.

27-28. Qq omit.

23-26. The arrangement is that of the Folios. In the Quartos these lines are inserted between lines 44 and 45.

25. Limit . . . charge: definitely assign each leader to his command. Cf. 'limit,' III, iii, 7. So in *Macbeth*, II, iii, 57, 'limited service' means 'appointed duty.'

29. keeps his regiment: remains with his command.

His regiment lies half a mile at least
South from the mighty power of the king.

RICHMOND. If without peril it be possible,
Sweet Blunt, make some good means to speak with him, 40
And give him from me this most needful note.

BLUNT. Upon my life, my lord, I'll undertake it ;
And so, God give you quiet rest to-night !

RICHMOND. Good night, good Captain Blunt. [*Exit*

BLUNT] Come, gentlemen,

Let us consult upon to-morrow's business.

45

In to my tent; the air is raw and cold.

They withdraw into the tent

*Enter, to his tent, KING RICHARD, NORFOLK, RATCLIFF,
CATESBY [and others]*

KING RICHARD. What is 't o'clock?

CATESBY.

It's supper-time, my lord ;

It's nine o'clock.

KING RICHARD. I will not sup to-night.
What, is my beaver easier than it was?

And all my armour laid into my tent? 50

CATESBY. It is, my liege; and all things are in readiness.

KING RICHARD. Good Norfolk, hie thee to thy charge ;
Use careful watch, choose trusty sentinels.

NORFOLK. I go, my lord.

KING RICHARD. Stir with the lark to-morrow, gentle
Norfolk.

55

46. air Qq | dew Ff.

49. beaver: helmet. Cf. *Henry IV*, IV, i, 104: "with his beaver on." Properly the 'beaver' (from Old French *bavière*, 'a child's bib') was the lower part of the helmet face guard, the visor. Cf. *Hamlet*, I, ii, 230: "He wore his beaver up."

NORFOLK. I warrant you, my lord. *Exit*

KING RICHARD. Catesby!

CATESBY. My lord?

KING RICHARD. Send out a pursuivant at arms
To Stanley's regiment; bid him bring his power
Before sunrising, lest his son George fall 60

Into the blind cave of eternal night. [*Exit CATESBY*]

Fill me a bowl of wine. Give me a watch.

Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.

Look that my staves be sound, and not too heavy.

Ratcliff! 65

RATCLIFF. My lord?

KING RICHARD. Saw'st thou the melancholy Lord
Northumberland?

RATCLIFF. Thomas the Earl of Surrey, and himself,
Much about cock-shut time, from troop to troop
Went through the army, cheering up the soldiers. 70

KING RICHARD. So, I am satisfied. Give me a bowl of wine;

62. *watch*. In calling for a 'watch' Richard evidently does not mean a 'guard'; the order for the guard is given in line 76. The 'watch' called for is probably a 'watch-light,' which was a night-candle so marked as to indicate how long it had burned, and thus serve as a timepiece.

64. *staves*: poles of lances. It was the custom to carry more than one into the field.

69. *cock-shut time*. A 'cock-shut,' according to Gifford, was a large net stretched across a glade, and so suspended upon poles as to be easily drawn together, and was employed to catch woodcocks. These nets were chiefly used in the twilight of the evening, when woodcocks "take wing to go and get water, flying generally low; and when they find any thoroughfare, through a wood or range of trees, they venture through." The artificial glades made for them to pass through were called 'cock-roads.' Hence 'cock-shut time' and 'cock-shut light' were used to express the evening twilight.

I have not that alacrity of spirit,
Nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have. [*Wine brought*]
Well, set it down. Is ink and paper ready?

RATCLIFF. It is, my lord. 75

KING RICHARD. Bid my guard watch; leave me. Ratcliff,
About the mid of night come to my tent
And help to arm me. Leave me, I say.

Exeunt RATCLIFF [*and the other Attendants*. RICHARD *sleeps*]

Enter STANLEY *to* RICHMOND *in his tent*. [*Lords and
others attending*]

STANLEY. Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

RICHMOND. All comfort that the dark night can afford 80
Be to thy person, noble father-in-law!
Tell me, how fares our loving mother?

STANLEY. I, by attorney, bless thee from thy mother,
Who prays continually for Richmond's good;
So much for that. The silent hours steal on, 85
And flaky darkness breaks within the east.
In brief, for so the season bids us be,
Prepare thy battle early in the morning,
And put thy fortune to th' arbitrement
Of bloody strokes and mortal-staring war. 90
I, as I may — that which I would I cannot —
With best advantage will deceive the time,
And aid thee in this doubtful shock of arms;
But on thy side I may not be too forward,
Lest, being seen, thy brother, tender George, 95

82. loving Qq | noble Ff.

90. mortal-staring war: war looking with deadly eye on its victims.
So 'mortal' is often used for that which 'kills,' not that which 'dies.'

Be executed in his father's sight.

Farewell. The leisure and the fearful time

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love

And ample interchange of sweet discourse,

Which so-long-sunder'd friends should dwell upon. 100

God give us leisure for these rites of love !

Once more, adieu. Be valiant, and speed well !

RICHMOND. Good lords, conduct him to his regiment.

I'll strive, with troubled thoughts, to take a nap,

Lest leaden slumber peize me down to-morrow, 105

When I should mount with wings of victory.

Once more, good night, kind lords and gentlemen.

Exeunt all but RICHMOND

O Thou, whose captain I account myself,

Look on my forces with a gracious eye ;

Put in their hands thy bruising irons of wrath, 110

That they may crush down with a heavy fall

Th' usurping helmets of our adversaries !

Make us thy ministers of chastisement,

That we may praise thee in the victory !

To thee I do commend my watchful soul, 115

Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes ;

Sleeping and waking, O, defend me still ! *Sleeps*

Enter the Ghost of PRINCE EDWARD, son to HENRY

THE SIXTH

GHOST. [*To RICHARD*] Let me sit heavy on thy soul
to-morrow !

104. thoughts Qq | noise Ff.

114. the Qq | thy Ff.

97. leisure : the time at our disposal. Cf. line 238.

105. peize : poise, weigh. Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, III, ii, 22.

Think how thou stabb'dst me in my prime of youth
At Tewksbury; despair, therefore, and die! 120
[To RICHMOND] Be cheerful, Richmond; for the wronged
souls
Of butcher'd princes fight in thy behalf;
King Henry's issue, Richmond, comforts thee.

Enter the Ghost of HENRY THE SIXTH

GHOST. [To RICHARD] When I was mortal, my anointed
body
By thee was punched full of deadly holes. 125
Think on the Tower and me; despair, and die!
Harry the Sixth bids thee despair and die!
[To RICHMOND] Virtuous and holy, be thou conqueror!
Harry, that prophesied thou shouldst be king,
Doth comfort thee in sleep; live thou and flourish! 130

Enter the Ghost of CLARENCE

GHOST. [To RICHARD] Let me sit heavy on thy soul
to-morrow!
I, that was wash'd to death with fulsome wine,
Poor Clarence, by thy guile betray'd to death!
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword! despair, and die! 135
[To RICHMOND] Thou offspring of the house of Lancaster,

125. deadly Q1 | Ff omit.

130. in Ff | in thy Qq.

132. wash'd . . . fulsome wine. 'Fulsome' probably has reference to the qualities of Malmsey wine, which was peculiarly sweet and luscious, so much so as to cloy the appetite after a little drinking. Shakespeare has represented Clarence as having been killed before he was thrown into the butt of wine.

The wronged heirs of York do pray for thee ;
 Good angels guard thy battle ! live and flourish !

Enter the Ghosts of RIVERS, GREY, and VAUGHAN

GHOST OF RIVERS. [*To RICHARD*] Let me sit heavy on
 thy soul to-morrow,

Rivers, that died at Pomfret ! despair and die ! 140

GHOST OF GREY. [*To RICHARD*] Think upon Grey, and
 let thy soul despair !

GHOST OF VAUGHAN. [*To RICHARD*] Think upon Vaughan,
 and, with guilty fear,
 Let fall thy lance ! despair, and die !

ALL. [*To RICHMOND*] Awake, and think our wrongs in
 Richard's bosom

Will conquer him ! awake, and win the day ! 145

Enter the Ghost of HASTINGS

GHOST OF HASTINGS. [*To RICHARD*] Bloody and guilty,
 guiltily awake,

And in a bloody battle end thy days !

Think on Lord Hastings ! despair, and die !

[*To RICHMOND*] Quiet untroubl'd soul, awake, awake !

Arm, fight, and conquer, for fair England's sake ! 150

Enter the Ghosts of the two young Princes

GHOSTS. [*To RICHARD*] Dream on thy cousins smother'd
 in the Tower ;

Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,

And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death !

Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair and die !

[*To* RICHMOND] Sleep, Richmond, sleep in peace, and wake
in joy ; 155

Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy !
Live, and beget a happy race of kings !
Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish.

Enter the Ghost of LADY ANNE

GHOST. [*To* RICHARD] Richard, thy wife, that wretched
Anne thy wife,
That never slept a quiet hour with thee, 160
Now fills thy sleep with perturbations ;
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword : despair, and die !
[*To* RICHMOND] Thou quiet soul, sleep thou a quiet sleep ;
Dream of success and happy victory !
Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee. 166

Enter the Ghost of BUCKINGHAM

GHOST. [*To* RICHARD] The first was I that help'd thee
to the crown ;
The last was I that felt thy tyranny.
O, in the battle think on Buckingham,
And die in terror of thy guiltiness ! 170
Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and death :
Fainting, despair ; despairing, yield thy breath !
[*To* RICHMOND] I died for hope ere I could lend thee aid ;
But cheer thy heart, and be thou not dismay'd !

173. hope . . . aid. Buckingham's hope of aiding Richmond induced him to take up arms ; he lost his life in consequence, and therefore may be said to have died 'for' hope ; hope being the 'cause' which led to that event.

God and good angels fight on Richmond's side ! 175

And Richard fall in height of all his pride !

[*The Ghosts vanish.* KING] RICHARD *starts out of his dream*

KING RICHARD. Give me another horse ! bind up my wounds !

Have mercy, Jesu ! — Soft ! I did but dream.

O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me !

The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight. 180

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

What do I fear ? myself ? there 's none else by :

Richard loves Richard ; that is, I am I.

Is there a murderer here ? No ; — yes, I am :

Then fly. What, from myself ? Great reason why, — 185

Lest I revenge. What, myself upon myself !

Alack, I love myself. Wherefore ? for any good

That I myself have done unto myself ?

O, no ! alas, I rather hate myself

For hateful deeds committed by myself ! 190

I am a villain ; yet I lie, I am not.

Fool, of thyself speak well ; fool, do not flatter.

My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,

And every tongue brings in a several tale,

176. In the series of speeches which end with this line Shakespeare has elaborated the simple narrative of Holinshed : " The fame went, that he had the same night a terrible dreame ; for it seemed to him, being asleepe, that he did see diverse images like terrible divels, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take anie quiet or rest. The which strange vision not so suddenlie strake his heart with feare, but it stuffed his head with many busie and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart being almost damped, he prognosticated the doubtfull chance of the battle, not using the alacritie and mirth of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to doo."

And every tale condemns me for a villain. 195
Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree ;
Murder, stern murder, in the direst degree ;
All several sins, all us'd in each degree,
Throng to the bar, crying all ' Guilty ! guilty ! '
I shall despair. There is no creature loves me ; 200
And, if I die, no soul shall pity me.
Nay, wherefore should they, since that I myself
Find in myself no pity to myself ?
Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
Came to my tent ; and every one did threat 205
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

Enter RATCLIFF

RATCLIFF. My lord !

KING RICHARD. 'Zounds ! who 's there ?

RATCLIFF. Ratcliff, my lord ; 't is I. The early village cock
Hath twice done salutation to the morn ; 210
Your friends are up, and buckle on their armour.

KING RICHARD. O Ratcliff, I have dream'd a fearful
dream !

What thinkest thou, will our friends prove all true ?

RATCLIFF. No doubt, my lord.

KING RICHARD. O Ratcliff, I fear, I fear !

RATCLIFF. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.

KING RICHARD. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard 217

196. *Perjury, perjury* Qq | *Perjury* Ff.

208. *'Zounds* Qq | Ff omit.

212-214. This speech of Richard and Ratcliff's reply are omitted in the Folios, making Ratcliff's words, line 215, unintelligible.

Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers
Armed in proof and led by shallow Richmond.

It is not yet near day. Come, go with me ;

220

Under our tents I'll play the eaves-dropper,

To hear if any mean to shrink from me.

Exeunt

Enter the Lords to RICHMOND, sitting in his tent

LORDS. Good morrow, Richmond !

RICHMOND. [*Waking*] Cry mercy, lords and watchful
gentlemen,

That you have ta'en a tardy sluggard here.

225

LORDS. How have you slept, my lord ?

RICHMOND. The sweetest sleep, and fairest-boding dreams
That ever ent'red in a drowsy head,

Have I since your departure had, my lords.

Methought their souls, whose bodies Richard murder'd, 230
Came to my tent, and cried on victory.

I promise you, my heart is very jocund

In the remembrance of so fair a dream.

How far into the morning is it, lords ?

LORDS. Upon the stroke of four.

235

RICHMOND. Why, then 't is time to arm and give direction.

His oration to his Soldiers

More than I have said, loving countrymen,

The leisure and enforcement of the time

Forbids to dwell upon : yet remember this,

God and our good cause fight upon our side ;

240

219. *proof* : armor that has been proved and tested.

231. *cried on* : uttered the cry of. Cf. *Hamlet*, V, ii, 375.

238. *leisure*. See note, line 97. — *enforcement* : constraint.

The prayers of holy saints and wronged souls,
Like high-rear'd bulwarks, stand before our faces.
Richard except, those whom we fight against
Had rather have us win than him they follow.
For what is he they follow? truly, gentlemen, 245
A bloody tyrant and a homicide;
One rais'd in blood, and one in blood establish'd;
One that made means to come by what he hath,
And slaughter'd those that were the means to help him;
A base foul stone, made precious by the foil 250
Of England's chair, where he is falsely set;
One that hath ever been God's enemy.
Then, if you fight against God's enemy,
God will, in justice, ward you as his soldiers.
If you do sweat to put a tyrant down, 255
You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain;
If you do fight against your country's foes,
Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;
If you do fight in safeguard of your wives,
Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors; 260
If you do free your children from the sword,
Your children's children quit it in your age.
Then, in the name of God and all these rights,
Advance your standards, draw your willing swords.
For me, the ransom of my bold attempt 265
Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold face;

250-251. foil . . . set. The allusion is to the practice of setting gems of little worth, with a bright-colored foil under them. Cf. *Henry IV*, I, ii, 238; *Richard II*, I, iii, 266. — chair: throne.

262. quit: requite. Cf. *IV*, iv, 20, and see note.

264. Advance: raise. See note, I, ii, 40.

But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt

The least of you shall share his part thereof.

Sound drums and trumpets, boldly, cheerfully ; 269

God and Saint George ! Richmond and victory ! *Exeunt*

Re-enter KING RICHARD, RATCLIFF, CATESBY, Attendants,
and Forces

KING RICHARD. What said Northumberland as touching
Richmond ?

RATCLIFF. That he was never trained up in arms.

KING RICHARD. He said the truth ; and what said Surrey
then ?

RATCLIFF. He smil'd, and said, 'The better for our
purpose.' 274

KING RICHARD. He was in the right ; and so indeed it is.
Clock strikes

Tell the clock there. Give me a calendar.

Who saw the sun to-day ?

RATCLIFF. Not I, my lord.

KING RICHARD. Then he disdains to shine ; for, by the book,
He should have brav'd the east an hour ago ;

A black day will it be to somebody. 280

Ratcliff, —

RATCLIFF. My lord ?

KING RICHARD. The sun will not be seen to-day ;
The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.

I would these dewy tears were from the ground.

Not shine to-day ! Why, what is that to me 285

More than to Richmond ? for the self-same heaven

That frowns on me looks sadly upon him.

Enter NORFOLK

NORFOLK. Arm, arm, my lord ; the foe vaunts in the field.

KING RICHARD. Come, bustle, bustle. Caparison my horse.
Call up Lord Stanley, bid him bring his power. 290

I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,

And thus my battle shall be ordered :

My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,

Consisting equally of horse and foot ;

Our archers shall be placed in the midst. 295

John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey,

Shall have the leading of this foot and horse.

They thus directed, we will follow

In the main battle ; whose puissance on either side

Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse. 300

This, and Saint George to boot ! What think'st thou,

Norfolk ?

NORFOLK. A good direction, warlike sovereign.

This found I on my tent this morning.

He sheweth him a paper

KING RICHARD. [*Reads*] 'Jockey of Norfolk, be not
too bold,

For Dickon thy master is bought and sold.' 305

A thing devised by the enemy.

304. too Capell | so Qq Ff.

301. This, and Saint George to help us, into the bargain.

304-305. So in Holinshed : " John duke of Norffolke was warned
by diverse to refrain from the field, insomuch that the night before
he should set forward toward the king, one wrote this rime upon
his gate :

Jocke of Norffolke, be not too bold,

For Dickon thy maister is bought and sold."

Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge.
 Let not our babbling dreams affright our souls,
 Conscience is but a word that cowards use,
 Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe ; 310
 Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law.
March on, join bravely, let us to 't pell-mell ;
If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.

His oration to his Army

What shall I say more than I have inferr'd ?
 Remember whom you are to cope withal, 315
 A sort of vagabonds, rascals, and runaways,
 A scum of Bretons, and base lackey peasants,
 Whom their o'er-cloyed country vomits forth
 To desperate ventures and assur'd destruction.
 You sleeping safe, they bring to you unrest ; 320
 You having lands and bless'd with beauteous wives,
 They would restrain the one, distain the other.
 And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow,
 Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost ?

319. ventures Capell | adventures Qq Ff.

314. inferr'd : brought forward, alleged. As in III, v, 74.

316. sort : crew, pack, set. Used contemptuously. Cf. *2 Henry VI*, III, ii, 276-277 : "he was the lord ambassador Sent from a sort of tinkers to the king"; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, ii, 13, where Puck describes Bottom as 'the shallowest thickskin of that barren sort.'

322. restrain : withhold from you. — distain : violate.

324. at our mother's cost. This should be 'at our brother's cost.' Richmond was in fact held in a sort of honorable custody at the Duke of Bretagne's court, his means being supplied by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, who was Richard's brother-in-law. Hall gives the matter thus : "And to begyn with the earle of Richmond Captaine of this rebellïon, he is a Welsh mylkesoppe, a man of small

A milk-sop, one that never in his life 325
 Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow?
 Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again;
 Lash hence these overweening rags of France,
 These famish'd beggars, weary of their lives;
 Who, but for dreaming on this fond exploit, 330
 For want of means, poor rats, had hang'd themselves.
 If we be conquer'd, let men conquer us,
 And not these bastard Bretons, whom our fathers
 Have in their own land beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd,
 And on record, left them the heirs of shame. 335
 Shall these enjoy our lands? lie with our wives?
 Ravish our daughters? *Drum afar off*

Hark! I hear their drum.

Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!
 Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!
 Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood; 340
 Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!

Enter a Messenger

What says Lord Stanley? will he bring his power?

MESSENGER. My lord, he doth deny to come.

KING RICHARD. Off with his son George's head!

338. Fight Qq | Right Ff. — bold Qq | boldly Ff.

courage, and of lesse experience in marcyall acts and feates of warr, brought up by my brothers meanes and myne like a captive in a close cage in the court of Frances duke of Britaine." Holinshed copied Hall's account, but in Holinshed's second edition 'moother's meanes' was misprinted for 'brothers meanes'; and hence Shakespeare's mistake.

334. bobb'd: pommeled. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, II, i, 76.

341. welkin . . . staves: skies with your shivered lances.

NORFOLK. My lord, the enemy is past the marsh; 345
After the battle let George Stanley die.

KING RICHARD. A thousand hearts are great within my
bosom.

Advance our standards, set upon our foes!
Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons! 350
Upon them! Victory sits on our helms. [*Exeunt*]

SCENE IV. [*Another part of the field*]

*Alarum: excursions. Enter [NORFOLK and Forces fighting;
to him] CATESBY*

CATESBY. Rescue, my Lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue!
The king enacts more wonders than a man,
Daring an opposite to every danger.
His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death. 5
Rescue, fair lord, or else the day is lost!

Alarums. Enter KING RICHARD

KING RICHARD. A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a
horse!

345. *marsh*. "Betweene both armies there was a great marish, which the earle of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent, that it should be on that side a defense for his part, and in so dooing he had the sunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When king Richard saw the earles companie was passed the marish, he did command with all hast to set upon them." — Holinshed.

3. *Daring . . . danger*. Either (1) offering himself as an opponent in every danger, or (2) challenging every dangerous antagonist to fight with him. For 'opposite,' meaning 'opponent,' cf. *Hamlet*, V, ii, 62.

CATESBY. Withdraw, my lord ; I'll help you to a horse.

KING RICHARD. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die. 10

I think there be six Richmonds in the field ;
Five have I slain to-day instead of him.

A horse ! a horse ! my kingdom for a horse ! [Exeunt]

SCENE V. [*Another part of the field*]

*Alarum. Enter RICHARD and RICHMOND ; they fight ;
RICHARD is slain. Retreat and flourish. Re-enter RICH-
MOND, with STANLEY bearing the crown, and divers other
Lords [and Forces]*

RICHMOND. God and your arms be praised, victorious
friends ;

The day is ours, the bloody dog is dead.

STANLEY. Courageous Richmond, well hast thou acquit thee.
Lo, here, this long-usurped royalty

4. *this . . . royalty* Q1 | *these . . . Royalties* Ff.

9-13. Richard, according to Hall and Holinshed, was determined if possible to engage with Richmond in single combat. For this purpose he rode furiously to that quarter of the field where the earl was ; attacked his standard bearer, Sir William Brandon, and killed him ; then assaulted Sir John Cheney, whom he overthrew. Having thus at length cleared his way to his antagonist, he engaged in single combat with him, and probably would have been victorious, but that at that instant Sir William Stanley with three thousand men joined Richmond's army, and the royal forces fled with great precipitation. Richard was soon afterwards overpowered by numbers, and fell, fighting bravely to the last.

11-12. Cf. *Henry IV*, V, i, 25-28.

3. *acquit* : acquitted. Cf. 'convict,' I, iv, 184, and see note.

From the dead temples of this bloody wretch 5
 Have I pluck'd off, to grace thy brows withal;
 Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it.

RICHMOND. Great God of heaven, say amen to all!
 But, tell me now, is young George Stanley living?

STANLEY. He is, my lord, and safe in Leicester town; 10
 Whither, if 't please you, we may now withdraw us.

RICHMOND. What men of name are slain on either side?

STANLEY. John Duke of Norfolk, Walter Lord Ferrers,
 Sir Robert Brakenbury, and Sir William Brandon.

RICHMOND. Inter their bodies as becomes their births: 15
 Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled
 That in submission will return to us;
 And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,
 We will unite the white rose and the red.
 Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction, 20
 That long have frown'd upon their enmity!
 What traitor hears me, and says not amen?
 England hath long been mad and scarr'd herself;
 The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,
 The father rashly slaughter'd his own son, 25
 The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire.
 All this divided York and Lancaster,
 Divided in their dire division,
 O, now let Richmond and Elizabeth,

7. enjoy it Qq | Ff omit.

11. if . . . now Qq | if you please
 we may Ff.

19. the white rose and the red. The story of the choice of these
 symbols is told in *1 Henry VI*, II, iv.

20-21. heaven . . . have. For 'heaven' as a plural, see note,
 I, iii, 220.

The true succeeders of each royal house, 30
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together !
And let their heirs, God, if thy will be so,
Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac'd peace,
With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days !
Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord, 35
That would reduce these bloody days again,
And make poor England weep in streams of blood !
Let them not live to taste this land's increase
That would with treason wound this fair land's peace !
Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again ; 40
That she may long live here, God say amen ! *Exeunt*

35. **Abate** : make dull. The word means literally 'beat down' (French *abattre*). Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, i, 6: "That honour which shall bate his scythe's keen edge."

36. **reduce** : bring back. See note, II, ii, 68. Cf. *Henry V*, V, ii, 63-64: "Which to reduce into our former favour You are assembled."

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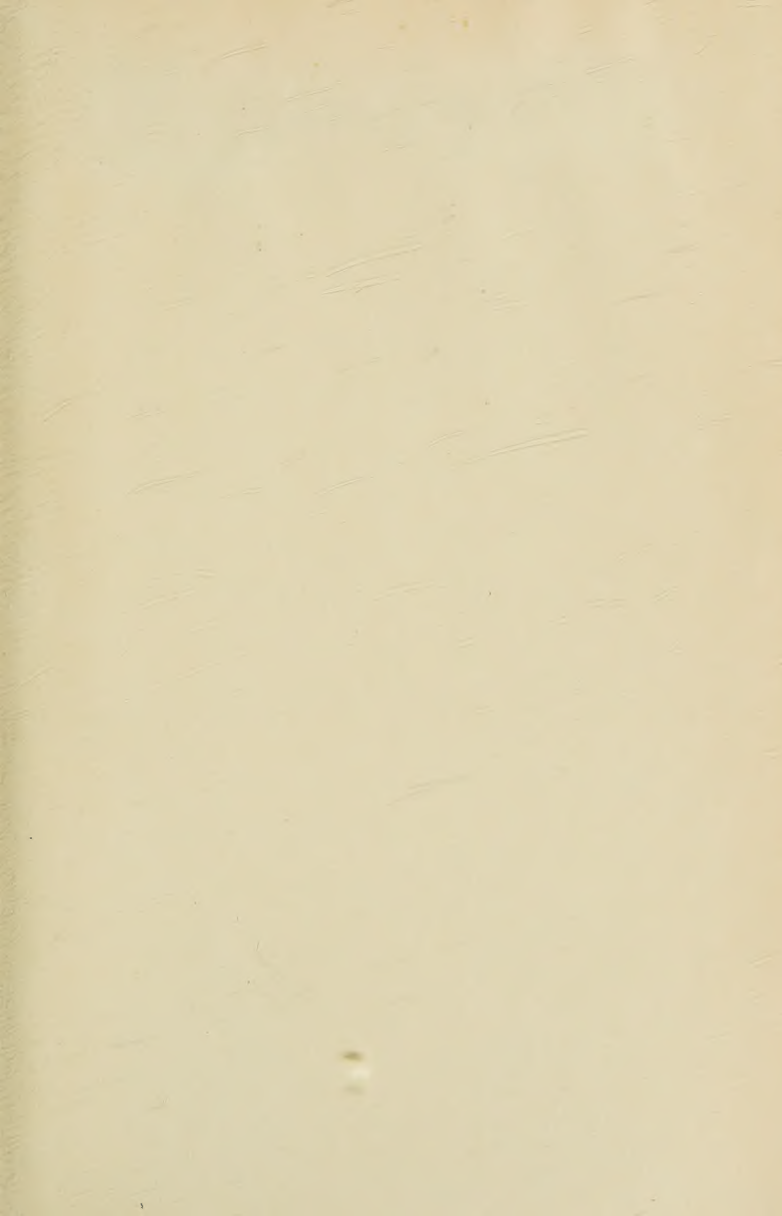
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OCT 30 1950	Helen James		
JUN 10 1954	Myrtle Moore		
FEB 23 1956	Bobbie Kirkland		
JUN 18 1958	M. Densley		
NOV 28 1961	J. Scott		
FEB 18 1959	Kay White		
MAR 4 1959	K. D. Doo		
MAR 16 1960	Brantley		
JAN 20 1961			
APR 19 1961			
NOV 21 1961			
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MAR 19 1965			
MAY 21 1968	Gora Chu		
MAR 18 1969			
APR 3 1969			
NOV 12 1969	C. Pipkin		
JUN 19 1970	Marvin Stevens		
OCT 21 1975			
FEB 20 1986			
Mar 20 '91			

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